Special Congress Number **Sunday Edition**

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The Bombay Chronicle

Founder: PHEROZESHA H MEHTA Editor: SYED ABDULLAH BRELVI

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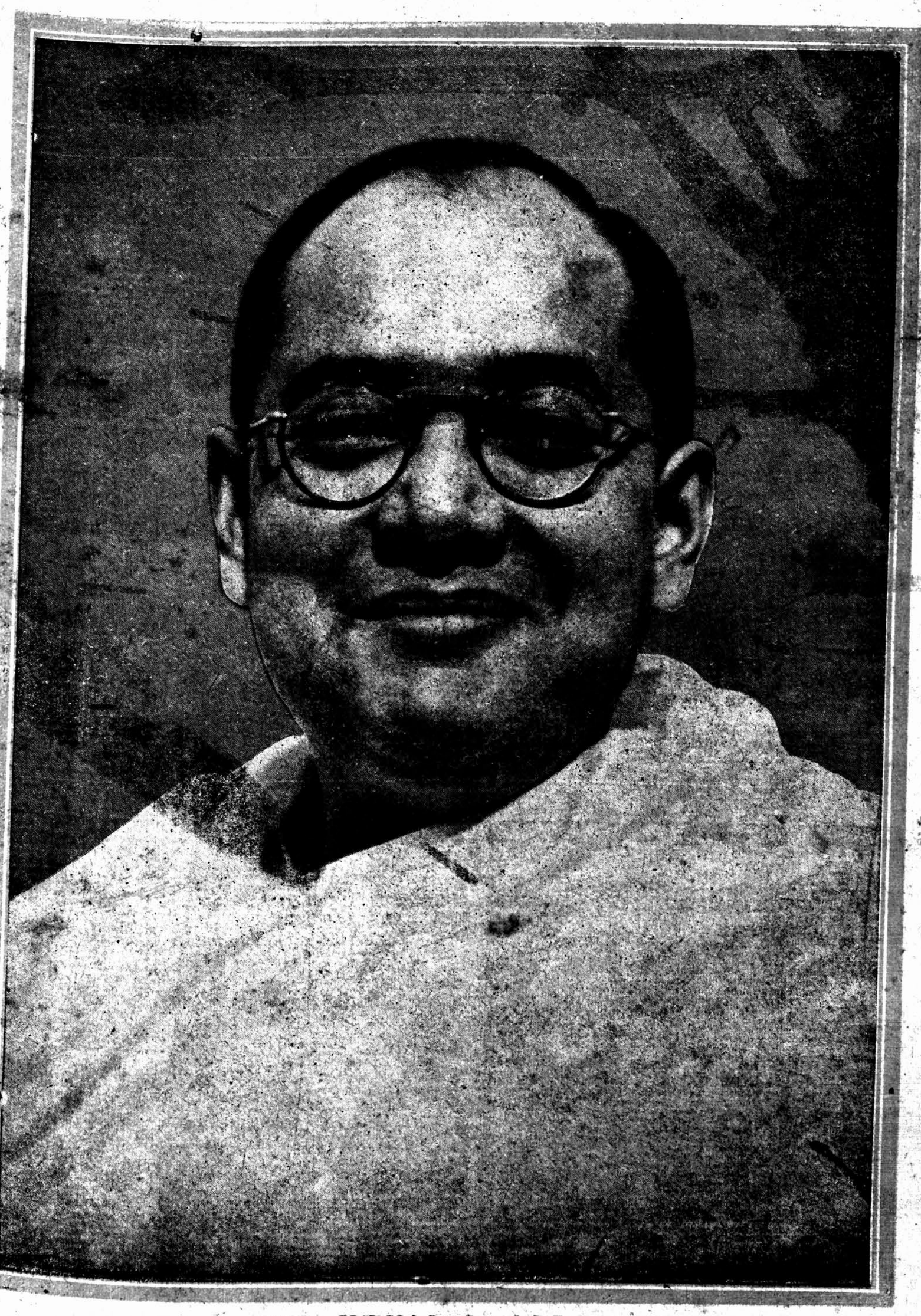
THE NATION'S CHOSEN LEADER

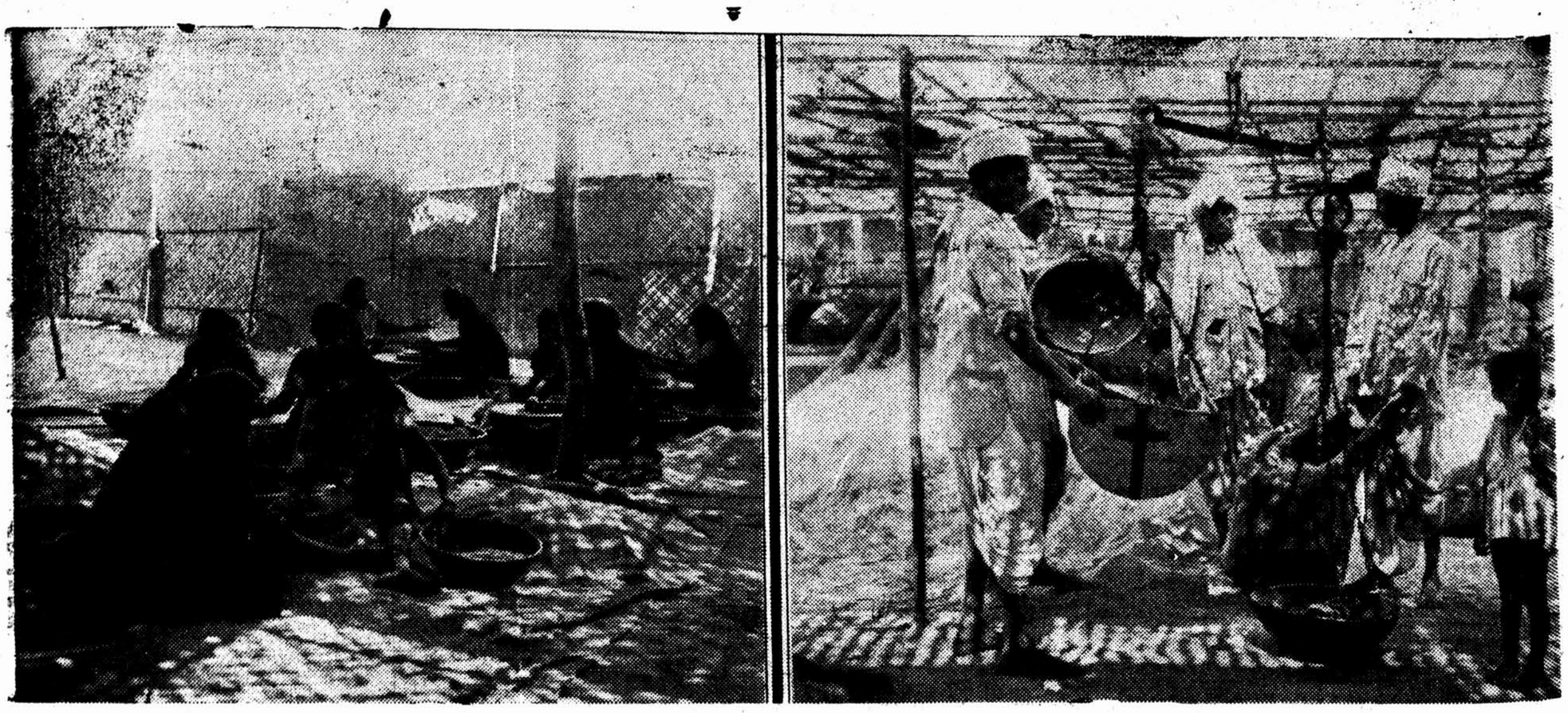


SYT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

SCENES FROM VITHALNAGAR

(Right) Main Gate of The Khadi and Swadeshi Exhib ition; (Left) Plaster Bust of the late Syt. Vithalbhai Patel on view at the Exhibition.

Group of Villagers from the surrounding Villages on a visit to Vithalnagar.



Village Women grinding w heat in the kitchen department; (right) flour being weighed by workers of the department.

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The Bombay Chronicle

BOMBAY: SUNDAY, 20, 1938.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Do Not Trifle With Congress

Sardar's Warning To Britain

If the British people choose to ignore the unanimous will of the Indian nation and decide to impose the unwanted hybrid scheme of Federation, it will do so at its peril. The growing strength of the most powerful organisation, known as the Indian National Congress, is the power to be reckoned with and let those who intend to trifle with it beware.

VALLABHBHAI. PATEL.
7th Feb., 1938.

The Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher

(See page 2.)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the retiring President of the Congress

PRESENT UNITED FRONT TO BRITISH IMPERIALISM

PRESIDENT-ELECT'S INSPIRING MESSAGE

"I send my cordial greetings to the "Bombay Chronicle" on the occasion of the Annual Congress Number. The 'Chronicle' has played a glorious part in our national struggle and I have no doubt that it will continue to hold aloft the banner of the Indian front to the British Government. With an international situation much in our favour if we can only stand united I have no doubt the British Government will be forced to yield to our demand which demand is for a constitution to be framed by the National Congress and inspire the hearts of our countrymen with the message of freedom. To-day we are faced with a challenge from British Imperialism in the form of the proposed federal scheme. We have, therefore, to rally all our forces and present a united Indian people through a Constituent Assembly. In this hour of our trial may the 'Chronicle' inspire the nation with the message of the Congress to carry on the fight till freedom is won."

SUBHAS BOSE

Shrimati Sarojini Naidu

Let Every Hour Be One Of Battle And Victory

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's Message

"In the struggle for India's liberty, let us so decide that every hour will be both an hour of united battle and united victory.

—Sarojini Naidu."

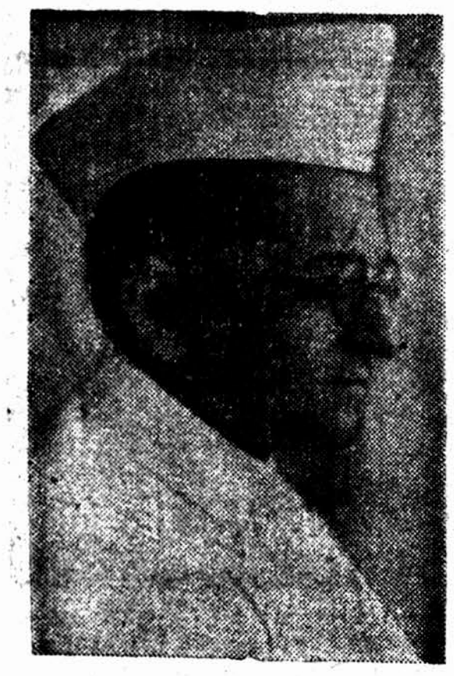
Seth Jamnalal Bajaj

(SEE PAGE 2).

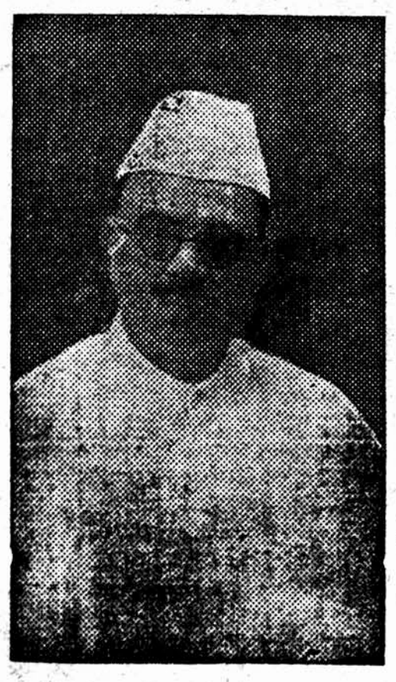
COURAGE, SACRIFICE AND DISCIPLINE

Vital To Success Of Non-violent Revolution

The "Bombay Chronicle" has a proud record of services in the cause of freedom. Its "Congress Number" have thus for your readers a special attraction. I



The Hon. Mr. K. M. Munshi



Jairamdas Doulatram.

have no doubt that the Haripura "Congress Number" will beat your former records and will convey once again to the Nation the message of courage, sacrifice and discipline so vital for the success of a non-violent revolution.

JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM.

Haripura Will Show The Way

Federation Unacceptable, Says Munshi

Haripura Congress will be again another momentous session. The question of the coming Federation will be the most important to be decided there. The country has already expressed its unanimous view that the Federation as envisaged by the Government of India Act is unacceptable to the people. That decision remains to be translated into action and Haripura will surely show the way.

K. M. MUNSHI.

DR. MAHMUD'S MESSAGE

I am glad to learn that the "Bombay Chronicle" is bringing out its Special Congress Number this year also. Last year Special Congress Number of the "Chronicle" was a great success and it was appreciated everywhere. The services which the "Chronicle" is rendering to the country for the last so many years are well-known. The "Bombay Chronicle" has always been regarded as a Congress organ and since 1921

Syed Mahmud.

the services which it has rendered to the Congress cause are invaluable. I trust that the "Chronicle" will continue to follow the same policy which it has done hitherto. The "Bombay Chronicle" has become quite an institution under the able and inspiring editorship of Mr. S. A. Brelvi. I wish the Special Congress Number of the "Bombay Chronicle" every success.

SYED MAHMUD.

INDIA'S AWAKENING

Partly Due To Nationalist Press

Our awakening to-day is partly due to the Nationalist Press. The "Bombay Chronicle" is one such herald of national power. I hope the "Chronicle" continues to follow the journalist standards set by Gandhiji. The day is not distant when, in co-operation with the Government of a free India the Nationalist press shoulders the responsibilities of the nation's reconstruction.

J. B. Kripalani.

J. B. KRIPALANI.

Let Us Stick To Non-Violence

SETH JAMNALAL BAJAJ'S MESSAGE

On the eve of the Haripura Congress what message can I send for "The Chronicle" than this, that it will continue to stand by the Congress through thick and thin as hitherto? The Congress represents the strength of an unarmed, but determined nation, which is fight for its birth-right with absolutely clean weapons.

Dialecties are not in my line. I am not naturally interested in discussing the merits of the different schemes and programmes that are being presented to the people both from the press and the platform. Let us not waste our time in discussing whether end justifies the means or the means determine the end. This would prove a dangerous pastime in the present state of our country. It is not a question of elevating policy to the status of principles or of subordinating the means to the end. I believe in the wise words of Swami Vivekanana who said "Let us take care of the means and the end will take care of itself". Once you have come by the right means you have to stick to them with all the tenacity you can command in spite of reverses. Political revolution is after all an experimental art. The Congress under the guidance of Gandhi, the greatest revolutionary genius of the day, has hit upon the only correct means of working out the political salvation of India. The Congress stands for non-violent resistance because it has implicit faith in the capacity of the unarmed people of this country to win their birth-right without violence. No amount of sophistry, specious reasoning or high-sounding slogans can shake that conviction or that determination. Non-violence is not only the law of our being, it is also the most expedient and the only effective policy under the present circumstances. He is not the best general who constantly changes his position out of a sheer love of change and bravado nor he the best soldier who keeps changing one weapon for another duets his inability to wield any. The Congress has chalked out for us the path of non-violent action. If we swerve or falter we are done for. Let us forget our failures save as warnings and press on towards the goal of complete independence under the banner of the Congress.

ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE NOT A RETROGRADE STEP

Logical Consequence Of Gandhiji's Political Philosophy, Says Kher

The acceptance of offices by the Congress was a logical consequence of Mahatmaji's political philosophy. There is a section of Congressmen, however, which looks upon it as a retrograde step. The obvious implication of such an attitude is a lack of faith in Gandhiji's political philosophy. It is well to remember that when all our efforts to attain freedom had failed, Gandhiji by his new political method, gave us strength to fight a mighty Empire. Though patient self-suffering, which we were taught to accept cheerfully, we have now come to a stage in our political evolution, which affords acceptance of offices as the only solution of our national problem. The Congress is fully aware that it has not yet reached its goal, but there is no doubt that acceptance of offices will give us more opportunities for self-purification and greater power for organisation, which alone can give us our freedom. It is untrue to say, therefore, that we have missed our way or that we have demolished our own ideal by accepting offices. On the contrary, we have the unique spectacle of seven Congress Governments faithfully working out the noble ideas of truth and non-violence in their practical problems. There is something deeper, richer and everlasting in Mahatma Gandhi's political philosophy and mere criticism, which is not founded on a serious study of it, can never help any one to understand it. It needs a balanced mind to understand such a noble creed. The Press in this respect can perform very useful public service if it chooses to exercise its enormous power truthfully, conscientiously and honourably. If, instead of trying to misrepresent or distort the truth newspapers take upon themselves the duty of educating the public mind in truly nationalistic ideas, it will have rendered a noble service to their country. In modern times it is only the Press which can, if it chooses to do so, inculcate in the minds of the people habits of balanced and helpful criticism. It is very powerful weapon which can be either used for the progress and unification of the country or abused for glorification of individuals or party or communal prejudices. I am sure the Special Congress Number of your popular journal will be of great educative value to all your readers.

B. G. KHER.

EXAMPLE OF BARDOLI PEASANTS

A Lesson To The Country

The brave peasants of Bardoli are now on the eve of celebrating the National Week. They have given an example to their brethren elsewhere by their fearless fight for their rights on several occasions. The Congress session, which they are holding, is bound to be similarly an example to the whole country. These brethren of Gujarat have shown how the poorest of us can become strong by devotion to the national cause, united service, and by sacrifice of what is dearest to men. These are qualities which will make our nation strong. I have every hope that the Haripura session of the Congress will inspire every Indian with a desire to be as brave, as selfless and as devoted to the national cause as those who are organising that session.

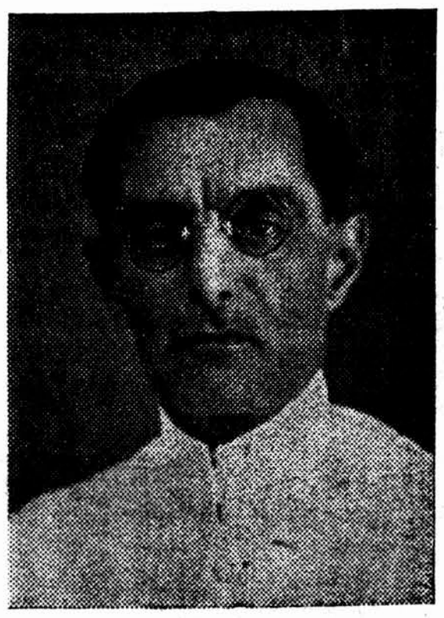
A. B. LATTHE.

The Hon. Mr. A. B. Latthe.

THE TESTING TIME

(By K. F. NARIMAN M.L.A.)

So long as Indian politics were of a militant and aggressive nature and there was no scope for favour or patronage, the only reward that the Congress could offer for patriotic service was jail and the rigorous misery of self-inflicted poverty. Selfless service and sacrifice were the main traits evident on the surface and there was no room as there was no scope for any kind of humbug. The real testing time for public national character, however, is not the turbulent and stormy times of war, but the more peaceful and calmer atmosphere of peace when self-less public servants and self-sacrificing warriors sit down to divide the spoils of the conquest. At the first symptoms of even the semblance of a sham power, efforts must be made to see that the spectres of self-aggrandisement, self-interest, favouritism and patronising attitude does not show



K. F. Nariman.

its head. In view of the limitations and restrictions imposed under the Act, it is not expected that the Congress in power will be able to

(Continued On Page 61)

STRENGTHENING THE MASSES

OBJECTIVE OF CONGRESS MINISTRY

Congressmen have accepted offices to further the Indian Freedom Movement. Their objective is to strengthen the masses while in office. They must be fully aware that the immediate problem facing them, apart from several others, is to bring immediate relief to the smaller peasantry, who are heavily burdened. It is recognised that a contended peasantry is the surest guarantee of the happiness of the people as a whole. No effort will be spared by Congress Ministries to tackle the peasant problem. Congress stands for a reform of land tenure and revenue and rent, and an equitable adjustment of the burden on agricultural land. This can never be forgotten by Congressmen in office. The moment they feel that it is not possible for them to do anything substantial in this direction, it will be their duty to vacate office.

MORARJI DESAI.

The Hon. Mr. Morarji M. Desai.

FEDERATION MUST BE FOUGHT

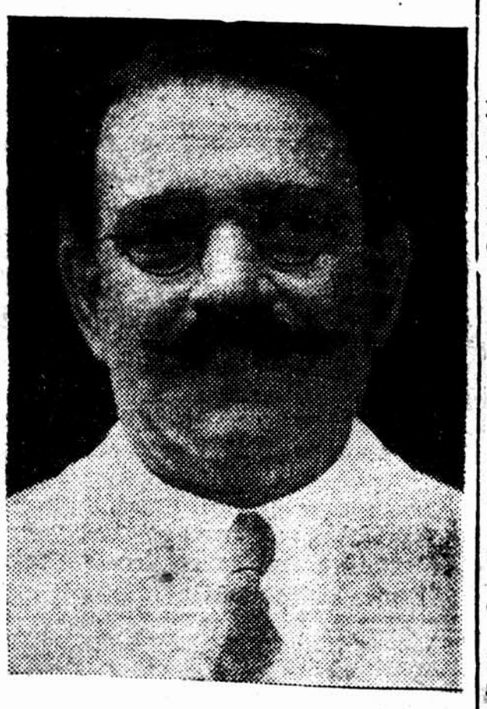
We Have No Choice, Says Minister Patil

While Congress Ministers are engaged in useful activities which aim at giving as much relief to the masses as possible so as to secure the strengthening of the Congress organisation which alone can successfully fight against imperialistic exploitation of the Indian people, Britain is about to tighten her Imperialistic hold over India by the inauguration of Federation. If the British attitude towards the Federation remains unchanged, it must inevitably invite from us resort to drastic steps calculated to combat Federation which is sought to be foisted on the Indian people against their declared will. We shall absolutely have no choice whatever in the matter."

L. M. PATIL.

DR. GILDER'S MESSAGE

The next session of the Congress —the first after office-acceptance —is going to make history. Let us



Dr. M. D. D. Gilder

pray that our leaders be given divine guidance to lead us quickly to our goal.—M. D. D. GILDER.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD PEACE

(By the Hon. Mr. MANGALDAS PAKVASA, President, Bombay Legislative Council):—

The Congress has completed fifty years of its existence. In that long period, it has passed through various phases in its struggle for larger liberties for the people. From bare petitioning and courteous requests it passed on to very severe criticism of the acts of omission and commission of the Government. Finding that the old methods were of no avail and that a violent revolution was out of the question, it found a new weapon of civil resistance, unique in one sense, that instead of its application being limited to an individual or a small group of individuals, it was to be exercised on the large stage of the whole of India. The very attempt to exercise on a large scale this new instrument produced a new strength and a new zeal in the people, and it has advanced the cause of national struggle much further. The old methods have been discarded, and new methods based on self-reliance and self-control adopted. The progress of the nation is sought not by means of any assistance from any outside power or by the grace of Government, but by generating strength in people themselves. The larger the forces developed, the greater the need for discipline and what ever the critics of the new orientation of policy may say, they have, one and all acknowledged and admired the marvellous discipline of the followers of the Congress Creed. The nation in its struggle had almost found itself

The Hon. Mr. M. M. Pakvasa

against a blank wall, and one wonders what would have been its fate if this new technique had not been found and developed.

Recently considerable ridicule has been poured from some quarters on the devoted head of the famous twins "Truth" and "Non-violence", and the varied activities of the constructive programme are held up to ridicule. But those who ridicule have not yet placed any good constructive programme before the nation, and so long as any alternative programme is not placed before the people, there is no likelihood of the present programme being changed, and the policy and methods are bound to remain without change.

If the workers can inspire the people to have unshaken faith in ultimate success by means of Truth and Non-violence, and if success is ultimately achieved by these means, India will have solved a pressing problem of the peace and prosperity of the rest of the world.

NEED FOR HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

Minister Nurie's Appeal To Muslim Youth

I am glad for the opportunity afforded to me by your esteemed Paper to give this message at this critical juncture in the history of our struggle for independence. Half a century of untiring struggle of the Congress has brought us to a point from where we can look back with some degree of satisfaction. But the goal is still very far and we are nowhere nearer laying our oars aside. In fact, we are in the thick of the struggle and unity alone can bring us victory. I pray that the two important communities, Hindus and Muslims, may unite.

The outlook of Islam is essentially democratic and the Muslim society is based on the principles of Socialism. The ideal of Islam is Freedom. These are also the objects for which the Indian National Congress stands.

Then why this strangeness? Let us close our ranks and stand together and fight shoulder to shoulder till Freedom is achieved. I urge Muslim youth especially to cultivate a sense of discipline and to get united in the Nation's cause for redeeming it from bondage and slavery. We will then be better able to serve the cause of Islam which is so very near to our hearts.

At this momentous time when the Congress is meeting at Haripura for the first time after the inauguration of the New Constitution it is the first and foremost duty of every true Indian to unite together for the common cause and fight for the salvation of the country by throwing away all narrow prejudices of caste, colour and creed and standing together as one nation.

The Hon. Mr. M. Nurie

U. P. PREMIER'S MESSAGE

"The "Bombay Chronicle" has for over a generation served the public cause with singular loyalty and devotion. May it grow in strength and contribute its share in the national struggle for freedom."

GOVIND BALLABH PANT.

CARDINAL ISSUES BEFORE CONGRESS

Hindu-Muslim Unity—Indian States—And Congress Membership

(By Dr. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA)

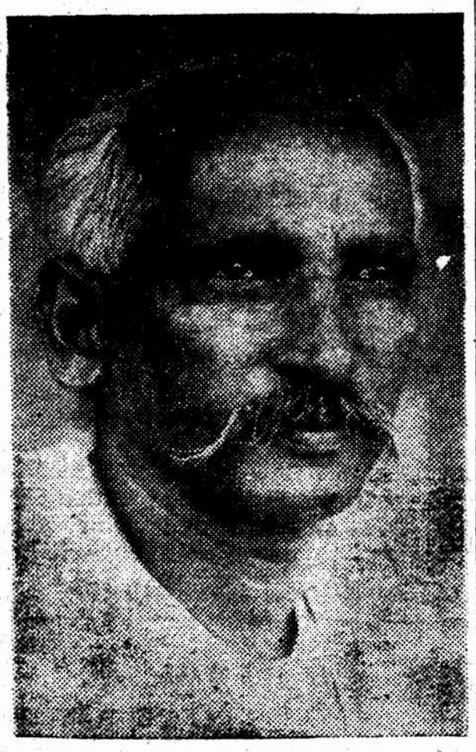
We are living in such momentous times that we cannot say when we close a year whether the year that has begun is not pregnant with events and possibilities yet more momentous than those which have made the history of the year that is gone by. When at Faizpur the Congress decided that we should enter Councils and contest the seats and left over the question of acceptance of office to the decision of the A. I. C. C., little was it realised that altogether a new chapter of Indian History would open out with the summer of 1937. Six months have now elapsed since the formation of Ministries and with the next Congress staring us in the face we are naturally tempted to count our successes and failures, on the one hand, and visualise the hopes and dangers that are ahead. Of the former little need be said beyond stating that the Congress is striving its best to implement the pledges that have been incorporated in the Election Manifesto. If all of them have not been fulfilled, or when fulfilled, are fulfilled only in part, the fact must be attributed to the limitations and circumscription of the conditions by which the Congress Ministers have been surrounded. If, therefore, there is a mistake anywhere, the mistake lay in accepting office under these limitations. Having done it knowingly and deliberately, it ill-serves our purpose to heckle the Ministers every now and then for their imperfections. The imperfections are not theirs but of the environments of the Act under which they have accepted office and of the whole scheme of reforms under which the "gives" and "takes" have been so carefully adjusted. "the checks and balances" are so mapped out that any very great strides of progress are not possible. Nevertheless it is no small measure of success to have been able to achieve the release of prisoners and of the refund of securities and, above all, the return of lands of people once engaged in Civil Disobedience, and No-Tax campaigns. Moneys forfeited to Government have been made good in some cases, and large schemes of reforms, especially relating to tenancy in the zamindary lands, have been taken on hand. Relief has been given to prisoners in jails regarding their diet and the scaling down of debts is being attempted on lines hitherto inconceivable. There are many other reforms which are yet to be implemented such as Separation of Judiciary from Executive, subdual of corruption and reclamation of the Police from their wonted zulum, reorganisation of the Village Panchayats, and of the educational system, revival of cottage industries, resuscitation of the village as the unit of Indian Nationalism and rehabilitation of Indian culture.

Need For Hindu-Muslim Unity

But more than all these there is the question of the Hindu-Muslim unity which has to be achieved if the next step in national progress is really to be effective. The problem, it is true, is not one which the Councils could solve but the differences between the Hindus and Muslims have largely sprung from the class consciousness that has dawned upon the educated classes on both sides, whose interests lie more in respect of their own rights and privileges than in the emancipation of the masses from the condition of slavery and starvation to which they have been consigned for decades and, perhaps, for centuries. These differences have naturally been the result of the British attempts to consolidate their power in this country. When the great Indian Mutiny, so-called, resulted in disaster to the popular cause, the British did not fail to recognise that sooner or later the spirit of rebellion would assert itself and that a whole nation long accustomed to independence would not gladly offer allegiance to a foreigner. So the British genius contrived three institutions whereby it could consolidate its power in this country, not merely by subjugating the territory but by conquering the minds and converting the hearts of the people to foreign domination. It was with this view that immediately after the close of "Mutiny" in 1858 the Universities were established, then followed the High Courts and Legislative Councils, all within five or six years of the termination of the great war of Indian Independence. After sixty years, however, it was discovered that these very institutions which constituted the glory of the British rule in India and were prized as great national assets both by the English and Indians were the three great chains by which the Indian people were enthralled and, therefore, the triple boycott was resolved upon in 1920.

Origin Of Separate Electorates

The Hindus were naturally marked out for the patronage of the British in the earlier years because the Muslims, it was thought, would be writhing under the consciousness that their Emperor at Delhi was unseated in the great Indian "Mutiny" and would be naturally seeking opportunities to re-establish their power. In due course it was discovered that the Hindus who were the foremost in taking to University life and, therefore, attained eminence in the legal and other learned professions, and began to distinguish themselves in the legislatures of the country, were not less national in their outlook nor less sensitive to their loss of independence. They too conceived ideas of national emancipation just as large and high-souled as any that the Muslims were believed to be capable of visualising. Accordingly the Britisher in 1905 changed his policy, effected the partition of Bengal, gave Muslims a province where they could have ascendency, and a scheme of reforms based upon the patronage of one section as against another. This policy found its natural fulfilment in the separate electorates granted under the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909. The Hindus and the Muslims entered into a pact in the year 1916 during the Great War when another scheme of reforms was expected to be formulated by Government. This was really an understanding or a concordat between the English educated classes amongst the Hindus and the Muslims and the masses were virtually left out of account. Although the understanding was bodily incorporated in the Montague-Chelmsford reforms yet no further attempts at progress were made in the way of joint electorates. The story of the communal decision of the British Premier and its incorporation in the scheme of reforms of 1935 is too recent to require reiteration. But the fact remains that while in 1919 Hindu-Muslim relations were determined by the incorporation of the concordat as agreed upon and entered into voluntarily, the 1935 Act incorporated a scheme not based on voluntary understanding between the two great communities and was really thrust upon the nation from outside. That such marked differences should have existed between the achievement of 1919 and the failure of any achievement in 1935 is a matter for deep regret. Nevertheless both in England and India various occasions have been explored to reach an understanding in regard to the Hindu-Muslim problem. After all the problem is a problem of proportions in the legislatures and the services. This problem is one that has been hitherto attacked on the old lines. It has, however, been shifted from the older plane of settlement and solution to the deeper strata or the masses as against the classes.



Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

How The Problem Must Be Solved

If this problem of proportions in the services and legislatures is solved to the satisfaction of the two great communities we shall have removed a great obstacle to the realisation of the principles that must guide us in achieving real responsible Government, in the centre. To-day our weakness lies in our failure in this respect. We are taunted by the Britisher that we are not able to agree between ourselves in regard to what appears to be a small matter. It looks as though if the immediate solution on the lines aforesaid is attempted it will serve no purpose merely to say that the problem of minorities is a problem affecting the rights of religious worship, the preservation of the different cultures and the protection of different languages. Here in India the problem of minorities has really become one of communities and communal consciousness, communal rights and communal privileges and communal proportions in the legislatures and in the services. It is upon this plane that it has been tried to be solved so far. There is a view, however, that the right perspective is to be cultivated, and that there is no hurry for a solution because the masses on both sides must realise that these proportions of representation in the Legislatures or in the services of the country under the foreigner are not going to emancipate the villages from their agrarian and economic thraldom. In this view it should be an easy matter to settle the issue between the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims in a true and broad spirit of nationalism, and not in a narrow spirit of plums and puddings. After all we are fellow-sojourners in this country who are born here and are destined to die here. A generous understanding between us is not likely to injure the interests of either party and in solving this tangle we must set aside the thought of prestige,—of victory or defeat to either.

Problem Of Indian States

The second problem at Haripura will be the problem of the Congress and the Indian States. The Congress had pursued a certain policy till the year 1920. That policy had to be changed for various reasons. The year 1920, indeed, was a turning-point in the history of the Congress. It was then that the Courts and Colleges and Councils which had been the instruments for six decades for the consolidation of the British power in India, were resolved to be boycotted. It was then that the Hindus and Muslims started together in their parallel march towards Indian Nationalism although they digressed once again later on. It was then that the people of the Indian States were admitted to formal membership of the Congress, and this change was incorporated in the constitution of that great body. The Congress when it started this reform took the precaution of saying that it should not be understood that it was interfering with the internal administration of the Indian States. This specific clause relating to the understanding was deleted in the year 1928. At the Calcutta session the Congress offered its full sympathy and support to the people of the States in their objective of responsible Government. The same has been repeated from time to time. The issue to-day is whether the Congress can directly interfere with the internal administration of the Indian states. The issue has assumed a certain added importance on account of the Calcutta resolution of the A. I. C. C. which commented in somewhat severe terms on the repressive policy pursued in Mysore. The Mysore resolution is stated by Mahatma Gandhi to be "ultra vires" and offensive. Leaving aside the question of offensiveness the question of "ultra vires" has to be faced. It can only be said to be "ultra vires" from the view-point that the resolution runs counter to the traditional practice and policy of the Congress which has always been not to interfere in the internal affairs of the States. Even the Calcutta resolution did not mean that the British Indian provinces should march armies of civil resisters into the States and carry on a campaign of Civil Disobedience. Even if it did so, it is clear that these civil resisters would not be allowed to so much as to cross the frontiers of the States for this object. Therefore, it serves no purpose to dwell at length upon this aspect of the problem. The A. I. C. C. would have done better to refer the matter to the Working Committee conveying to the latter its sense of alarm at the developments in Mysore and other States. It must be admitted that while in some Indian States there is repression by legal processes of an intolerable character in others there is physical tormentation by methods hardly conceivable by us in British India or any civilised part of the world. This issue relating to Congress and States needs to be clarified at Haripura.

Congress Membership

The other cardinal point is the one relating to the enrolment of

(Continued On Page 59)

THE HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM

THE MORE MUSSALMANS JOIN THE CONGRESS THE LESS A HINDU RAJ THE CONGRESS ADMINISTRATION WILL BE

(By M. C. CHAGLA, Bar-at-Law).

Is there a Hindu-Muslim problem at all, or is it merely a figment of poisoned imagination, a nightmare created out of suspicion and distrust?

In Ireland you have a real minority problem in Ulster. Ulster is racially and culturally different from the South of Ireland. You have the Nordic race and the Anglo-Saxon culture, on the one hand, and the Celtic race and the Latin culture, on the other. Further, sanguinary pages of history stand between Ulster and South of Ireland. The political conceptions of these two parts of Ireland are also fundamentally different. While Ulster is pledged to loyalty to the Crown and insist on remaining an integral part of the British Empire, the South of Ireland has always dreamt the dream of a united and independent Ireland playing its proper part in the Commonwealth of Nations. This is the age-long problem of Ulster, and the difficulty of solving it.

No Racial Distinction

There is no racial distinction between the Hindus and Muslims of India. The same blood flows in the veins of the overwhelming majority of the people who live in this country. Their culture is also the same. Hindu and Muslim cultures have blended together to create an Indian culture, and both Hindus and Muslims, in days gone-by, have contributed to the creating of it. The majesty of the Taj, the beauty of Fatehpur Sikri, the loveliness of the rags and raginis of Indian music are all the results of Hindus and Muslims working together for the greater glory of the country.

Majority Must Rule

But there are, unfortunately, people in this country, who shout from housetops, and shout themselves hoarse, that there is a problem which has got to be solved. If that be so, the solution is very simple, if one faces the realities of the situation. The stark reality can be expressed in two very simple propositions. The first is that the Hindus are a majority in this country, and the second is that democracy means the rule of majority. If Mussalmans believe in democracy they must reconcile themselves to the rule of the majority. You cannot have your cake and eat it. You cannot have democracy and still gib at

(Continued On Page 60)

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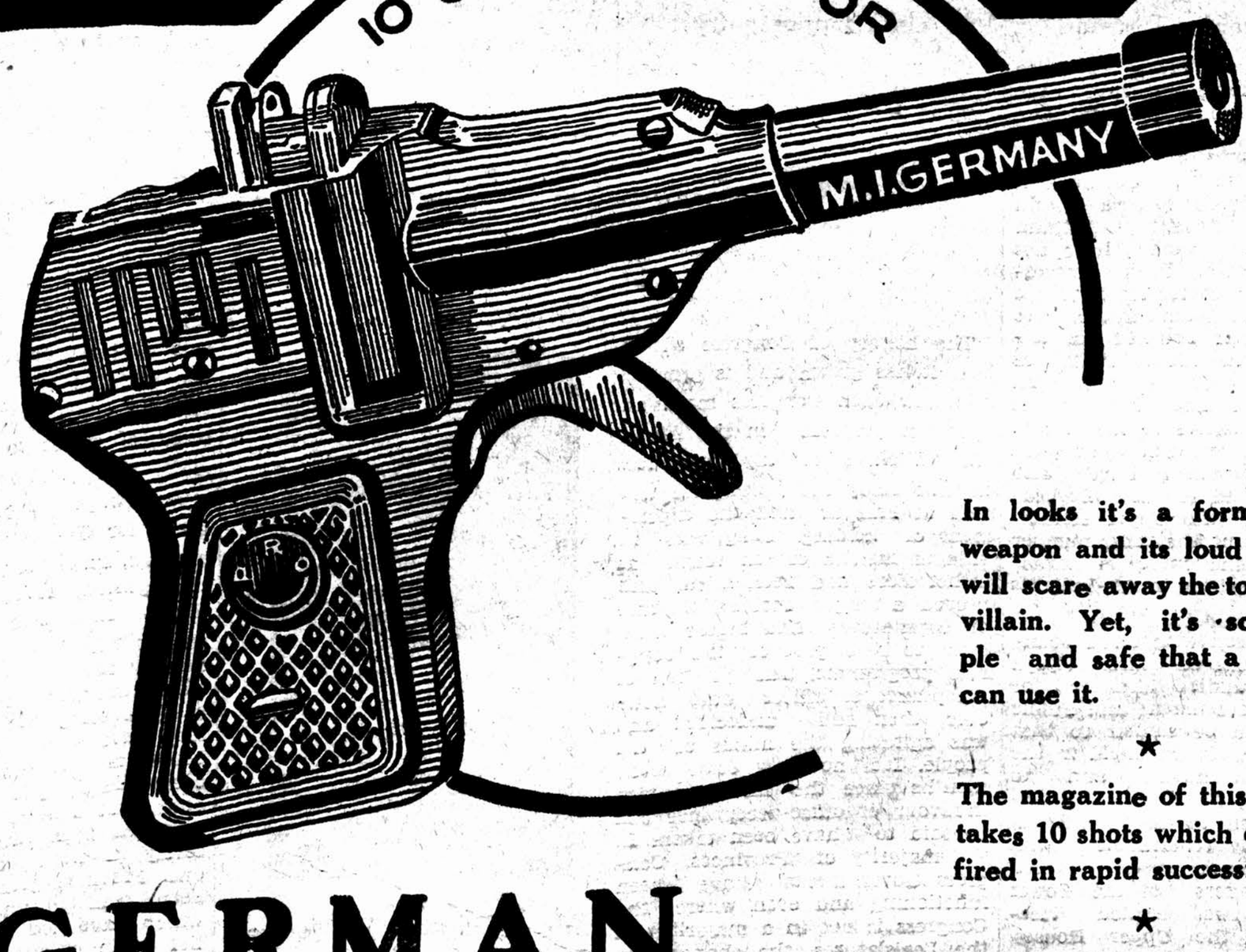

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WOMEN AS LEGISLATORS

Though Pathetically Small In Number At Present Women In Various Provincial Legislative Assemblies Are Bound To Make Their Mark

(By MARGARET E. COUSINS, B. MUS.)

It is with pride and happiniess that the special Congress number of the "Bombay Chronicle" can this year for the first time in history congratulate the nation on the number of women who are now sharing with men the responsible work of Government and law-making. It was in December, 1917, that the women of India made their first demand for that hall-mark of citizenship, the vote. In December, 1937, five million Indian women were voters, over three million had actually voted over one hundred women haa been candidates for contesteu elections, millions of men as well as women had cast their votes for women candidates, and to-day India stands second in rank in the world for the number of women returned to legislatures under the current democratic procedures. The United States is first in rank with 2 women in its Senate and 148 in its State Legislatures. Russia has returned 128 women in this past year's elections, but the Soviet system and its attitude to women in education, industry and administration is so new and unique that it must be considered exceptional and therefore India can show to the world how when given a chance she can leap to the forefront of politics and national standards in regards to the progress and capacity of her womanhood as well as in her new idealogies of non-violence and release of prisoners, new schemes of education and scales of salaries of Ministers and Government servants proportional to the poverty of the country rather than the height of the ladder of Service.

Remarkable Position

The figures for other countries throws into relief the really remarkable position India's womanhood now commands. Great Britain has only 9 women members of Parliament, Denmark 7, Sweden 11, Czechoslovakia 13, and Switzerland, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany women have not even a vote. It is necessary also to remember that a number of the Indian States have women in their Councils or Representative Assemblies such as Travancore, Cochin, Mysore, Rajkot, and Indore. These will add at least twelve to the elected members of Provincial India, and a number of women have also been nominated to the Legislative Councils (the Upper House). Thus at present the total number of women functioning in parliamentary capacities in All-India is roughly 72.

In comparison with other countries the status of Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Minister for Local Self-Government and Public Health, would be similar to that of Miss Margaret Bondfield in the Labour Government and to Miss Perkins, Roosevelt's Secretary for Labour in the U. S. A. It is particularly remarkable that two women have been elected Deputy—Speakers of the Lower Houses, and two elected Vice-Presidents of the Upper Houses. Two women are also Parliamentary Secretaries. These honours have been given to Mahomedan as well as Hindu women, in non-Congress as well as Congress-governed Provinces. In the Provinces 36 out of 60 women members belong to the Congress Party the remainder are 12 Mahomedans, Christians and Independents, the Maharani of Ayodhya being amongst the latter, and half-a-dozen women have been nominated to the Upper Houses. An interesting feature of this historical emergence of Indian women into the political field is that so many married couples have been elected in their own areas as far instance, the Pandits, Yakub Hasans, Munshis, Madhava Menons. In some cases they belong to the same House, in others the wife is in the higher House or in several other husbands, while the marriage partner is to be found in the alternative house.

Mrs. Lakshmi Shankar Aiyar, M.L.A. who won the general seat in the constituency next to Cape Comorin in which is the ancient temple of Kanya Kumari —the Virgin Goddess, is one of the Whips of the Madras Congress Party. Is she the only woman whip in the world? She was the only woman selected by the Congress to contest a general seat in Madras Presidency. Her selection was unanimous by the men of the various grades of selection Boards, practically a record. The experience of Mrs. Ristore, a young teacher of Lucknow, defeating the Chancellor of the University of the U. P. on a Congress ticket, is one of the romances of this "walk-in" of women. But only the U. P. and Madras granted women the opportunity of standing for general (unreserved) seats where they were successful in each case for the Lower House, and in Bombay and U. P. for the Upper House also.

Their Opportunity

The majority of the women legislators are married of ages ranging between 27 and 40, and have children of school-going or older stages. Nearly all the Congress women members have tasted prison life in the non-co-operation years. These experienced mothers, women doctors, wives of doctors teachers have all subscribed to the programme of Reforms demanded as necessary by the All-India Women's Conference. Some of the subjects are included in the platforms of the political parties such as prohibition compulsory primary education, others affect women themselves primarily and intimately yet racially, fundamentally and nationally. Amongst such are the cleaning up of conditions which exist to-day because of a double standard of morality. Women will eventually insist on a single high standard equally for men and women and do away with commercialised vice. They are determined to abolish child marriage and its result immature parentage; to secure equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex; to get equal inheritance laws; to institute an All-India Maternity Benefits Bill of a more satisfactory type than that now being introduced; to work for a Social Insurance Act to aid the sick, aged, unemployed and injured by accident; and to promote all legislation for removing sex disabilities.

Though the number of women is pathetically small in each Legislature when compared to the numbers of men members and in

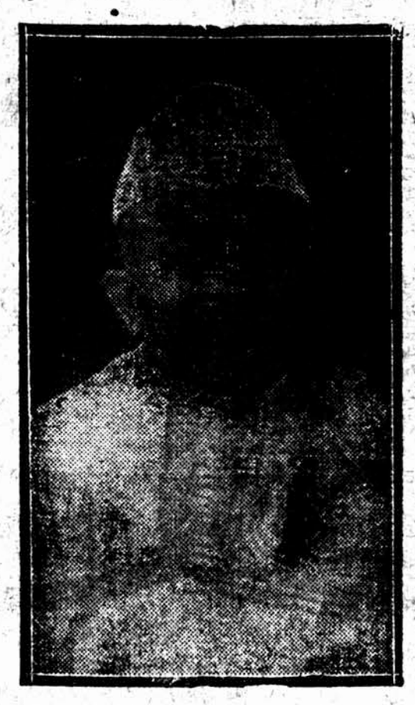
Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins.

comparison with the womanhood of the nation whose burdens and grievances lie heavy on their hearts and minds, still the women legislators are united on the above subjects and by force of unique personality and peculiar advantages of circumstances in a new and changing era of national life undoubtedly their presence in the Councils of the nation will bring needed reforms and view-points from obscurity or indifference into prominence and achieve practical results. Brains are fortunately not a monopoly of men. Women's powers of service and self-sacrifice in India are famous. With women's cleverness in adopting means to ends, and their swift intuition in crises these women legislators may be relied on to use their energies to wise and good effect even if because of their local fewness they produce no miracles.

"Faizpur To Haripura"

(By NAGINDAS T. MASTER)

The history of Congress shows how it has grown and is growing and how each Congress marks an epoch of progress in the life of the Nation. It is only some few months since the Congress was held at Faizpur and the experiment of holding Congresses in villages instead of in towns as hithertofore had been tried and proved a unique success. Capture of Legislatures had before them come to be a part of the Congress programme. The question of acceptance of offices was, however, then still undecided and was agitating the minds of the people. It is now only some seven months since the final decision in favour of office-acceptance can be said to have been taken. In the majority of Provinces, Congress Governments have been functioning and even where the Congress is not in a majority in the Legislatures, the change owing to the presence of Congress members in the Legislatures has been effective both as regards the official attitude and administration. The claim of the Congress that it stands for the people has been amply vindicated. After compelling the requisite assurance, the Congress formed Ministries and since then notwithstanding the great and stifling handicaps under the Government of India Act, the achievements of Congress Government have been acclaimed as a great step towards the good of the struggling masses. Repressive laws have been and are being withdrawn, political prisoners not convicted of violence have been released. Solution of the most baffling of problems; the problems of the Kisans has been boldly undertaken and is being vigorously tackled. Moratorium, so far as, to start with, it could be introduced, has been taken up and legislation to give interim relief has been passed. Prohibition will soon be on a vast and far-reaching scale, and the masses will be rescued from the ruin consequent on the evil habit of drink. Very important programmes will be inaugurated in education and before this year is out, legislation for the requisite change in the educational system will be made. The scale of wages to the working class, the question of the minimum wage, regulated working hours for Gumastas and shop assistants, measures for relief of unemployment, development of industries small and large, these are among the problems to the reasonably acceptable solution of which Congress Ministers have been devoting close attention. Not only have several important and beneficial legislative measures been already put on the statute book, but a large measure of relief has been given to those sorely in need of it. In our own Province grazing fees have been remitted and scales fixed which have led to no less a relief than of nearly sixty lakhs to agriculturists out of a revenue of a little over three crores. Haripura can thus look back to a glorious record of achievements since Faizpur all accomplished within barely seven months, and will itself, out of its deliberations and decisions on momentous issues ahead of us, accelerate the nation's pace on the path of progress and advancement. Gujarat has been in forefront in the fight for freedom and will, in addition, have the honour of holding a session which will, in several points beat all previous records and will tremendously advance the cause of liberty for India.



Mr. Nagindas T. Master.

Between The Devil And The Deep Sea

Kisans And Workers Look Up To Congress For Relief

(By Dr. SUMANT B. MEHTA.)

The fact that we have been able to enrol as many as 31 lakhs members of the Congress this year induces some people to imagine that the Congress has reached the very Zenith of its powers. Obviously this is very wrong. It is true that 31 lakhs is a huge number but it is scarcely one in a hundred. It is true also that we have crores of people who cannot afford to give four annas a year; but if we look at the problem from another angle we would soon realise that this number of membership could be easily doubled. For example, we have been able to enrol only a small fraction of the Kisans; the statistics say that the Kisans form from 65 to 70 per cent. of the population of this vast country. Secondly, the number of women enrolled as members must be infinitesimally small. Thirdly, the membership from the Indian States must be comparatively small. The factory and other workers have not been convinced that their interests are perfectly safe in the hands of the Congress. And, finally, there are the Muslims and other minorities who have not been able to shake off their nervousness and who refuse to enter the parlour without making definite conditions. Thus it would be seen that the Indian National Congress is nowhere near the Zenith of its power. It is true that we are making an honest attempt to get all these elements into the Congress, with results which are not disheartening.

Which Way?

But a note of warning must be uttered. Last year somewhere about this time we decided to accept offices as a tactical move, with a view to smash the Government of India Act of 1935. During the campaign of electioneering very high hopes were raised both by the top leaders and the minor leaders. It is just possible that the minor leaders promised too much. As a matter of fact even some of the top leaders fostered an impression that Swaraj had come. Some of the papers wrote leading articles to that effect. The President of the Congress had to repeat the statement that what we had received was not Swaraj, that the real strings of power were in the hands of the British Government. When Gandhiji made a statement to the effect that it was possible to attain Swaraj if we worked up properly the very limited powers that we had secured, perhaps without another struggle, the ignorant amongst the electorates were very much misled. The youthful workers amongst the Kisans and the mill-workers were in high hopes; the tenants and gumastas (clerks) and Harjans, all expected that their grievances would be entirely and immediately redressed. These high hopes have not been realised nor are they likely to be realised to the full. The result has been that the youthful Congress workers have become impatient and the elderly Congressman in power has become nervous and panicky.

Criticism Of Ministers

A heavy responsibility has fallen on the shoulders of the Ministers, but most of them carry it very badly. The truth must be told that the sense of responsibility has weighed them down. It is very bad tactics and utterly wrong to say that the actions of the Ministers should not be criticised, or that, the criticism should be only constructive. No Democratic Government can afford to be so touchy and hypersensitive. This touchiness is a sign of weakness and in reality it invites more criticism. Some of the leaders in the Behar District and Provincial Congress Committees have entered the arena, not with a view to increase the tempo of mass awakening, but to protect the Ministers who have been propped up to carry on the Provincial Government. I do not suggest for a minute that the High Command should not regulate the speed and direction of the mass movement, but that should be done by persuasion, by educating public opinion and not by utilising the Police and not by prosecuting the young enthusiasts.

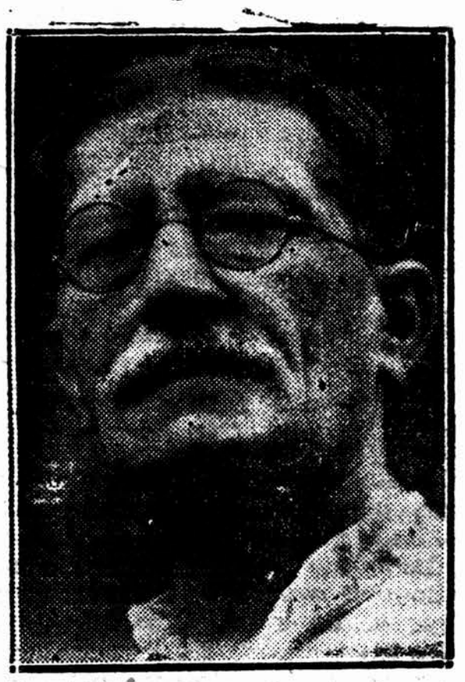
A friend of mine drew my attention to the fact that the "Times of India" is just now praising the sense of responsibility of the Ministers and never misses to report the doings of Kisan Sabhas or mill-workers' strikes. It wants to see (and to show) the hand of Socialism and Communism everywhere, it wants to stampede the new Government into suppressing the mass movement. Evidently and obviously the "Times" has scored and Minister Munshi has seen the signs of rivers of blood in the streets of Ahmedabad. If the Congress Ministers and the Congress High Command begin to distrust those elements—the young men and women—who work among the labourers in fields and factories, then it is a bad day for our country. Why should the Ministers put ready faith in the evidence of the police and the detectives who until yesterday were looked upon as unreliable?

The Congress has taken up an attitude with regard to the Indian States which the people of those States highly resent, and their number is no less than eight crores. That attitude is neither fair nor just. Those people have stood in the national fight shoulder to shoulder, they have supplied men and money, they have participated in the constructive work of Khadi, village industries and removal of untouchability and when their grievances have become unbearable and the people are prepared to fight out their battles on their own strength the Congress wants them to wait and watch.

Heresy Hunting

The greatest danger to the Congress democracy comes from the new tactics of heresy-hunting. As soon as a young man takes a forward step, his action is called untruthful or reeking in violence. This game of giving a dog a bad name and hanging him is a very dangerous one. The orthodoxy has started talking glibly of Truth and Ahimsa. Inevitably this leads to hypocrisy. In many places in India the situation is tragic, the orthodoxy does nothing but sit tight on its powers, the young people are making a forward move in spite of frowns and threats. Is this a healthy state of affairs?

I shall be told that what is happening is historical, that this kind of difference is bound to evolve. As long as two and half years ago an English statesman told me that in case the Congress accepts office, a split within the party is inevitable. So then, the split was anticipated. Are we going to play into the hands of the Imperialistic bureaucracy by splitting on this petty issue? Our main task is to smash the new India Act. The Congress leadership has started heresy-hunting, of showing aside the peoples of the States. It sees violence in the righteous demands of the Kisans who have been sucked dry



Dr. Sumant B. Mehta.

by the Sahukars and the Zamindars, and who fight shy of the Labour demands. If their demands are unjust they can be argued with; but to-day the Kisan, the labourer, and the peoples of the Indian States are verily between the devil on one side and the deep sea on the other, and they look up to the Congress for relief, that Congress which they have helped to build up, with the sweat of their brow and the blood of their body.

CRIPPLE GIRL WANTED A PEN-FRIEND

So She Wrote To A Prime Minister

"I know you are a big man and I am only a little girl, but I know you were once a little boy, and so I hope you will be able to find me a pen friend and forgive me writing to you. With much love from a little English girl." Such was the plea Australia's Prime Minister Mr. J. A. Lyons found on his desk, recently, from little June Porter, a patient in Lord Mayor Treloar's Cripples' Hospital, Hayling Island, where she has been on her back for nearly 10 years, because of a fall. June wanted a boy or girl who would correspond with her and exchange stamps. Mr. Lyons, says Austral News, promptly replied: "Dear June. I received your letter telling me about yourself. I was sorry to read that you had been in hospital for so many years. I will try to find a pen friend for you in Australia, I am glad you have a hobby, and I send you some stamps for inclusion in your collection."—Yours sincerely, J. A. Lyons.

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UNORGANISED TRADES IN INDIA

In Rebuilding Of Economic Life Of The Nation The Problem Of Regulation Of Unorganised Trade Is Of Vital Importance

(By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA)

The tragedy of economic life in India relating to the distributive aspect of it is that the state, as in the case of all vital concerns of the people, leaves it to shift for itself in the most uncontrolled fashion. This activity limps along, the unconsidered slave driver, the sweated labourer and the petty shop-keeper earning their livelihood at a high competitive velocity. This is how there takes place a most merciless form of keeping things busy regardless of straining the powers of the workers to a breaking point. Fortunately for the agricultural labourers, they are forced to go through certain periods of enforced idleness which, coupled with the outdoor and healthy conditions of work whenever so engaged, never cause breakdown of health. Starvation wages earned by them for services performed may render them unfit for vigorous and efficient labour—which misery is worth being radically remedied without loss of time, but the city and town workers, particularly the petty shop-keepers, the shop assistants, the transport workers, freight pullers, hotel workers, know no rest from their 16 to 17 hours of hard labour inside ill-ventilated rooms or along crowded streets. One can visualise the physical suffering involved in doing such work, as dragging heavy trucks containing heavy loads or being obliged to stand near a blazing kitchen fire to prepare coffee and eatables necessary for keeping a hotel in running order, but labour legislation incomplete so long as it does not contain even this class of workers.

A Neglected Problem

Thankful as the bulk of the population of toilers is for the small and inadequate favours relating to regulation of hours of work sanitation, compensation in case of injury to health bestowed on the factory labourer, the utter non-extension of similiar merciful consideration to the large body of workers outside of factories shows lack of sympathy and regard on the part of the State for their health and welfare. The

Shrimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya.

working classes, including the petty shop-keepers and others belonging to the semi-factory trades constitute more than three-quarters of the people inhabiting the urban and city areas; and that so far no attempts have been made to impose restrictions upon their recklessness proves that the Government attaches no importance to this aspect of our economic life, not to speak of the distressing uncertainty of such employment subject as it is to whimsical influences, it is a well-known fact that there is nothing to prevent the petty shop-keeper, hotel-keeper, porters of all kinds from plying their trade from cock-crow to an hour or two after mid-night. The coffee hotels, the shop-keepers and the workers of some kind, do not seem to close down at all, with the tragic result that illness, excessive fatigue and serious functional disorders make for slovenliness and insanitation all-round In the matter of their earnings, even were they moderately encouraging, as in the case of sleepless shop-keepers and other workers, they are either too small or not worth the fatigue and loss of health involved. The Law and Order departments in Indian are not inclined to look at the question of non-regulation of shop-keeping and other forms of manual labour from the point of dislocation of the peace and harmlessness of city and town life which explains why these custodians of good behaviour of the people never care to use compulsion where a certain measure of compulsion is necessary. The attitude of the Government on the whole is that if things go wrong as a result of unrestricted business activity, there are the police, the hospitals and the liquor-shops to set matters right and if prevention of undesirable consequences arising from suicidal economic life is desired, it is something which Government feels as falling within the scope of its convenient non-intervention policy. For all appearances it may amount to interference with the liberty of the citizen to prevent him from running his business interests in the way he likes best but that it is economically most damaging to the health and vitality of any economic activity for it to function to a breaking point is a consideration which does not enter into the mental composition of the shop-keeper and the State. All that the business man or worker wants is to make money which in the manner he makes it causes irreparable injury to health that is brought on by absence of rest and by liquor which he consumes in order to drown his fatigue.

What Congress Ministers Should Do

The Congress Ministers now in office in the seven provinces of India cannot afford as was the fashion under the 'Ancien Regime' to ignore this vital problem of regulation of the unorganised trade in their desire to rebuild the economic life of the nation on a basis of good health, proper leisure, living wages, security of work and relief of the unemployed; for in no other way than in regulating the hours of shop-keeping and manual labour attached to it can this object be achieved. From what I know of the conditions obtaining in the British Colonies in British Africa, there is the Shop Hours Act which makes shop-keeping and performance of non-factory labour beyond the hours prescribed for official work, an offence, so much so that the streets all over the towns and cities of that country present a spectacle of complete cessation of work after 5 in the evening. On Saturday afternoons the cities and towns buzz with the traffic of withdrawal of all labour from its sphere of work and Sunday is a day of complete rest. This regulation providing in addition for the non-dismissal of servants for other than good reasons satisfactory to the State and introduction of a system of fair wages and small insurance schemes will not only protect the health of the workers but also make for their family cultural happiness which is now unknown to them. Incidentally the reordering of the performance of distributive services, including even the overworked human conveyance agencies on these desirable lines, will further serve to solve on a small scale the problem of widespread unemployment by giving room for night labour and work beyond the restricted hours. The average shop assistant, the servant, the porter, the vehicular services keep moving round the painful wheel of sweated labour for more than 16 or 18 hours a day which deprives them of all the joys of family life, their only consolation being liquor. Prohibition of the drink evil, now to be inaugurated by the Congress Ministry, to be successful makes it necessary to safeguard the workers from prostrating fatigue and joyless conditions of existence, for all of which paramount reasons state Regulation of the undisciplined trades is an obligation neither to be postponed nor disregarded.

Mr. Bradley's Greetings To Congress

Mr. Ben Bradley has sent the following greetings to the Haripura Session of the Congress:—

In sending greetings to the Haripura Session of the Indian National Congress, I do so with the confident belief that it will register an important step forward in the consolidation of the forces making for national liberation.

The experiences since the last Congress are of tremendous importance because the Congress will take these experiences into consideration in framing its policy for the coming period. The main landmarks since the last Congress have been the great Election Campaign with its sweeping victories, the decision to form Congress Cabinets, the development of the Kisan Movement with the accompanying Demonstrations, the growth of the strike, movement, and most important, the increase in membership of the Indian National Congress from 6 lacs to 31 lacs

In an examination of the experiences, weaknesses and shortcomings will be found, which, if faced frankly, will lead to a strengthening of national forces. *The attempt of British Imperialism to impose the Federal part of the New Constitution will open up a new stage in the struggle for freedom. The key of the approach to this new stage in India's struggle for national freedom lies in the Haripura Session of Congress.*

The main question is the strengthening of the United National Front. Alongside the building up of individual membership, the struggle for collective affiliation to the Congress must continue. Our task is to strengthen the Indian National Congress as an organisation, making it the united expression of the struggle of the Indian people for freedom.

During the past twelve months the influence and prestige of the Indian National Congress has reached its highest point among the people of India

The decisions of the Haripura Session of the Congress can greatly strengthen this position of the Congress. On the basis of this strength the Congress Ministries in the various Provinces will be able to bring improvement to the lives of the great masses of people in India, legislating to relieve the crushing burdens of debt, taxation and rent from the shoulders of the peasantry; to reduce the hours of labour; and improve the economic conditions of the workers; to improve facilities for education; to provide better health and sanitation services; and to remove once and for all from the Statute Book all lawless laws.

On the basis of such a concrete programme the great mass of Indian people would be rallied behind the Congress. *On the basis of such a concrete economic programme a wide campaign could be conducted which would ensure wide mass support for the struggle against the inauguration of the Federation.*

The British Government are planning the introduction of the Federal side of the Constitution. They will steamroller it across with whatever support they can get. Therefore the struggle against the constitution should be strengthened and concretised. *A mass struggle* should be developed *for a Constituent Assembly* based upon universal adult suffrage. *This struggle should be linked up with the States peoples struggle for responsible Government and democratic rights*

These are the main questions facing the Haripura Congress I am confident that this Congress Session will face these issues with determination and that the conclusions of the Session will give the lead which will unite the mighty Indian people under the leadership of the National Congress.

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The Time Of Trial

Such a moment to decide came to the Congress, and by reversion of gear, it decided to enter "the Temples of Maya," and thus grasp the opportunity of being the "Government" in seven Provinces. Whilst some think that in doing so, the Congress departed from what it so far stood for, it grasped the opportunity to be useful to the country, and it did well to accept unconditionally the offices, without guarantee of non-interference from the Governors. The Congress, in my opinion, did well, but I am sorry to say that it failed to take the full advantage of the opportunity which came to her. In forming the Ministries the Congress in keeping with its policy of "blank cheque" to the Muslims, should have offered them some seats unconditionally and should have shown that when opportunity arose, their blank cheque could be cashed at the Bank of Goodwill. I am no believer in the doctrine of "Blank Cheque"—as blank cheques like blank cartridges are no good—. I am simply trying to point out that where the Congress were in a majority in the Legislatures, they did not give the Muslims that deal which in choosing the Cabinet the Muslims naturally expected, because of the Congress professions. It is not carrying out the spirit of "blank cheque" to insist on Muslims signing the Congress creed and pledge before being admitted into Cabinets. The Muslims in provinces where they were in majority, aware of their strength, acted in a more statesmanlike manner and took non-Muslims in their Cabinet without any condition. Is not this a case, to use the words of Rochefoucauld, of the Congress "promising according to their hopes, but performing according to their selfishness and fears?" I trust that the Congress will take an early opportunity to right the wrong, as it did, unblushingly,—and I hope smilingly,—in the case of "Lokshakti" in the Bombay Presidency.

The Communal Problem

This leads me to speak of what is known as "communal tension." I am not against all minorities being assured of full freedom for their religion, culture, language and facilities for their education and uplift. I am in favour of the League of Nations formula for all —without exception—and this should satisfy the minorities. But when the minorities ask for "more," they are acting as communalists and not nationalists. I am of opinion that we have found "India" but as yet have to find "Indians". The view that I take of what is known as communal problem is that on "political" side it can be settled by the British and on its "social" side by the Hindus. The British tried to tinker with it at the time of the Round Table Conference by the MacDonald Award (?) which on the face of it was so unjust that it failed to solve the problem. It turned the majority community, viz. the Hindus, into so many minority communities and thus it failed to solve the problem, though it succeeded in further dividing the communities. But is not to divide is to rule?

How Hindus Can Solve It

From the social point of view the "Hindus alone" can solve the problem. The present Muslims in India have 90 per cent. of their ancestors non-Muslims. They were mostly Hindus whom the Hindu community drove them out of its fold because the great (!) Hindu religion had no place for them. Till Hinduism changes its ideology and become Arays in religion and not castes, they must lose their strength. This question can only be solved by Hinduism giving up obscurantism. In their own weaknesses lie the strength of the Muslims. Neither the Congress can solve this, nor the Muslim League. The Hindus must put their house in order, and they alone do it.

It beats me to know what the Congress and the League are wrangling about. "Politically" the MacDonald Award has put them on terms, which cannot be changed except by mutual consent. The Muslims want more, is the Congress prepared to give this? Some Hindus want to give less, is the Congress prepared to entertain this? It appears to me that both the Congress and the League are trying to collect water in a sieve. The best, and only, course is to work out in practice the present arrangement, however unsatisfactory it may be, and as we grow more Indians, and less communalists, the question will get solved in the hard school of experience. The Hindus, the Muslims and all other communities are subject to the same laws, same taxation, same abilities and disabilities; for them the ratio is the same, the rupee has sixteen annas and none can rise higher than Indians are allowed to under the constitution.

Wardha Education Scheme

There is a Gujarati proverb which says that in the name of Rama stones can be made to float. Similarly in the name of Mahatma Gandhi anything can pass muster. Such is the case with the Wardha scheme of Education. It has been acclaimed by the Congress as the last word in perfection, but adversely criticised by almost all educational gatherings, where it is discussed by teachers and educationists of experience and those who have knowledge of teaching. The note of dissent by Professor K. T. Shah has not been published, and adds to the mystery of discussion, the more so as what has appeared in the Press over his signature indicates that he is not in favour of the scheme. Was the minute of dissent kept back in spirit of "Truth"? Be that as it may, it strikes me as a plan of stabilising village ignorance and masquerading as mass education what is really dread of masses. The scheme aims to do in matters educational, what "Charkha" is supposed to do in mass production. It condemns the village child to intellectual prison, isolating him from the world outside.

If this is what Congress has to offer by mass education, then it is better to be "uneducated."

Federation

The next question that is likely to engage India's attention is that of Federation. In spite of what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says of "tearing it up" and Mr. Subhas Bose saying that it is "not wanted"—I feel that the Congress will accept it, with some face saving formula, "full of sound and fury", "signifying nothing,"—in the same way as we are "wrecking" the Reforms by "working" them. A little straw shows which way the wind is blowing—and that "straw" is the resolution of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar in the Madras Assembly reading:

> "This Assembly recommends to the Madras Government that the opinion of this House be communicated to His Majesty's Government in Great Britain that it is politically and morally impossible for the people and the Government of the Province tolerate the imposition of the scheme of Federation as laid down in the Government of India Act, 1935, and that the said scheme would, far from bringing about All-India unity, provoke forces of conflict between Provinces and Indian States and that this Assembly hopes the Government of Great Britain will respect the wishes of the people of India and immediately devise means for transitional purposes to set up a Central Government, free from the objectionable features of the Federal Scheme of the Government of India Act, to be evolved in consultation with responsible Provincial Governments and national leaders."

We have an apt proverb in Gujarati which reads:

> "Laskarka Bhaida Piaya
> Agushai Gadha Aiya";

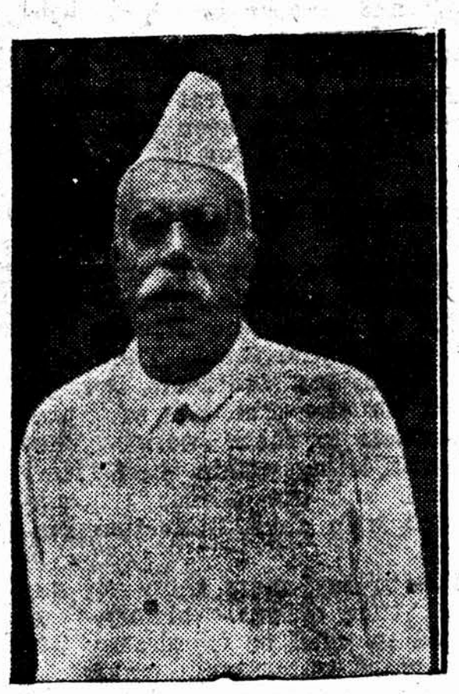
which means "we know the strength of the army by its first arrival"; the first arrival being the resolution referred to above.

It has been said that "politics are 75 per cent. rhetoric and 25 per cent sense" and let us hope that it is not true what a prominent Congressman holding high office told me that their programme is 101 per cent. rhetoric "meant for the ear". Surely for this the Congress has not instilled courage and made Indians feel their manhood, has roused in Indians a sense of nationhood and put India on the map of the world. Let us hope that the Congress will utilise the opportunity that has come to it and make India a League of Communities of Human Hearts, and beware that it does not perish through "violence" and "untruth," as it has often happened that men and associations of men perish through the contraries they profess, as those who think themselves wise perish through their ignorance; those who think themselves benevolent perish through greed; as those who think themselves strong perish through weakness; and those who think themselves virtuous perish through sin.

The Communal Problem And The Way To Solve It

(By LAKHMIDAS ROWJEE TAIRSEE)

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right;
And the choice goes by for ever 'twixt that darkness and that light."
—JAMES RUSSEL LOWELL.



L. R. Tairsee

INDIA'S MARCH TO FREEDOM

(By An Indian Students)

On the occasion of the Indian Independence Demonstration at the Trafalgar Square, London, on January 30, 1938.

The beat of the drums slices the crisp aid
With many sharp piercing sounds;
The bugle blows the first of Freedom's blasts
While the trumpeters walk in proud array
Noble heralds of the march to come
Martial music thawing the frost of the cold wintry day
Brings new hope and cheer
To the thousand marching faces behind.
Simple men and women, these, in whose hearts
Resides a fierce longing to see justice done

Fine spirits unmoved by thoughts of selfish gain
They have come all out for the oppressed of the earth
For one moment man is man again
Rising above all the cursed rifts of country, colour and race.
The primal human voice is heard once more
In hearty chorus resounding for miles around
Proudly they march holding Liberty's Banner aloft
Calling to the world to the slavery dire
Of their forlorn brethren across the seas.

Let authority speak what it will
Let politicians and statesmen spread their countless lies.
They who have abandoned every decent thought
Contained in the fine flow of their pious and noble words
Till the meaning within shrieks for escape from its hollow shell.
Democracy and Freedom, Liberty and Peace—they are in the air
Waiting breathless to come back to life.
Let all the self-seeking legions drown
The agonised voice of protest with show of might.
There is no evil but does recoil
On those that called it forth
Truth and freedom are bound to win.

K. L. H.

London, January 30, 1938.

They Must Become Heralds Of A New Age

The Role Of Writers In The Present Struggle

(By AHMED ALI)

It was not long ago that the Congress came into office; but already a change is perceptible. We seem to breathe a fresher air, and feel ourselves to be in a different and better atmosphere. When we look back to the pre-Congress days we find there was something alien about the Government. We had always felt that we were governed by Ministries which were neither ours nor Indian except in name. Under the Congress we feel a greater sense of security: to-day we can walk with our heads a little high. We feel that we are living somehow in our own land.

But though the Congress Governments have given us many things which we did not have before, there are many other things which had been promised and have not yet been given us. We had made many promises to the people, the toiling masses of India, and they have every right to expect that the Congress Ministries would ameliorate their condition. But though they have done a good deal, the masses feel that the Congress Ministries have not done enough for them. That is why the peasants and the workers have organised peasant marches and demonstrations to acquaint the Ministries with their grievances. And it is our duty, as a national and progressive Government, to do something to better their condition.

The Omissions

It is also to be regretted that the repressive laws have not yet been abolished. There are still some political organisations from which the ban has not been lifted —the Communist Party, for instance; and many political prisoners have not yet been released. Still our letters are apt to be tampered by the "Post Office". There is still a strong censorship of books, and progressive literature is not allowed into our country. And still under the Sea Customs Act our books are confiscated.

We know that some of these matters are not directly in the hands of the Provincial Governments. But if they really set about it and agitate, the Congress Ministries can have these repressive laws cancelled. And we hope that the Ministries would agitate to get us our Civil Liberties.

Similarly, though we enjoy a great deal of freedom under our first national Government, we have still no real liberty of expression. Even in the Congress provinces people have been prosecuted for expressing their ideas. And if before 'sedition' consisted in standing for the freedom of our country, it has now been interpreted to stand for asking the people, the workers and the peasants, to prepare themselves for action. And though, perhaps, they could not avoid this, the Ministries have, nonetheless, failed to fulfil the promises we had made to the people, especially the wage-labourers and the peasants. And there is a general feeling that the Congress Ministries have not acted as the spokesmen and the true representatives of the dumb and hungry millions who are Hindustan.

All this goes to prove that what is facing us is a great struggle. "Swaraj" has not been won. We have yet to fight for it!

Apathy Of Writers

Our writers have so far kept out of the struggle. They have failed to realise the urgency of the task before them. They have not yet in any significant strength stood for the principles of progressivism in their works. They are still living within their ivory towers, and are primarily concerned with their individual problems.

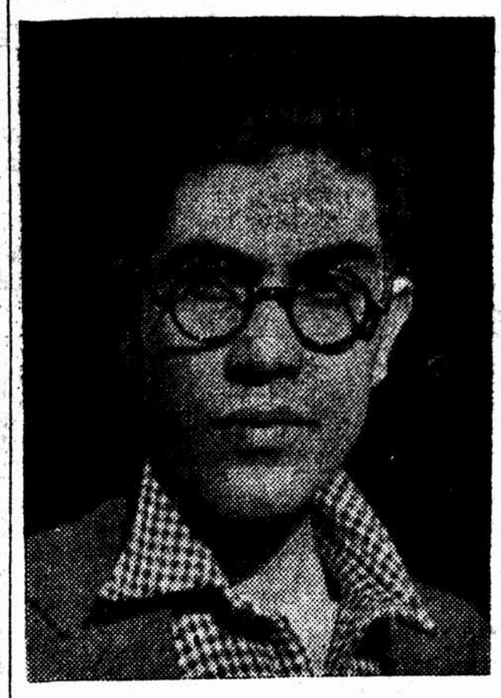
But, to-day, more than at any other time of our history, we stand in need of expressing the feeling of bitterness which is aroused by the inhumanity and injustice of the social orders in which we live. As writers it is our duty to express not our minds, but the general state of mind. We must express our age. We must express what our countrymen, the people of Hindustan are feeling and undergoing to-day.

The menace of Fascism and Imperialism is still there, and these forces are trying to crush all popular movements. The story of the Abyssinian conquest by Italy is quite old now. The foreign invasions of Spain and China by the Fascist Powers of Europe and Japan respectively, should be eye-openers to all.

Not that we are free. No. We are still a colonial people. And, therefore, we must be more careful. Our task is far more difficult than that of the people of a free country who are invaded by the bloody hordes of another. We have in reality to fight our battle on two fronts, for our freedom and for popular democracy. Which means that we have two things to bear in mind constantly: our struggle for national independence, and our fight for a real people's government.

Need For United Front

Only an adherence to the tactics of a United Front can enable us to win independence which can never be achieved by any one party alone. And we feel that the great mistake our various political and semi-political organisations are making is primarily this that they have not put aside their differences to join hands in a strong National Front. But without a United Front we shall be nowhere. What would have happened to China if Chang Hsueh-liang had not captured Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek and forced him to make a United Front with the Communists and the Chinese Soviet Government to fight Japan Left alone. Chiang-Kai-Shek would have gone on leading the bloody expedition after another against the "Red Bandits"—who in reality were the only sincerely patriotic people—and Japan would have continued to swallow one part of China after another. That would have been a disaster. But with a strong United Front between the Tungpei (North - Eastern Army under Chang Hsueh-liang), the Soviets and the Kuomintang, there is all hope of China's being saved from the menace of Japan. The same is true of Republican Spain where without the Fronte Populaire the people would have lost Spain long ago.



Ahmed Ali

And all along in these struggles the writers of these countries have played a great part. There is, for instance, Lu Hsun in China, another Maxim Gorki whose works have always been a torch to lead the people on towards freedom and democracy. In Spain many of the leaders were and are some of Spain's greatest writers.

In our country what we demand of our writers is an expression of the democratic sentiment. We do not ask them to exaggerate: we only want them to portray the reality as it is. They must express what India is feeling to-day, and what its 'dumb' millions are going through.

An Important Role

The role of the writer is not small in our present society. He has to play a very important part. That is why it is very essential for our writers to come out of the shadows of their ages and go out to the people, depict their condition and express their hopes and fears, their sorrows and desires. Because a mere 'Swaraj' is not our final goal, because we have to go far forward towards a people's Government. And as true sons of the Motherland, as true children of the soil, we must write about the poverty-stricken, squalid, and dishevelled Mother India. It is our duty as writers to-day to stand for the rights of the down-trodden and oppressed millions who are our brethren. Let us not deal with the problems of a few well-fed and well-to-do individuals, but become the voice of Hindustan. It is not Love and Hate, Joy and Anger that we are to deal with, but the problems of hunger and poverty which are staring us in the face. And these we must make our material.

Our writers have long been infamous for their mysticism, egoistic subjectivism, and reaction. We must remove that stigma, wash that blot completely away. And leaving aside all personal problems, however urgent they might seem to us, plunge into the struggle. We must become the heralds of a new age, a beautiful society, where even they (who to-day find themselves like fish out of water) would be able to share the joys and sorrows of their fellowmen.

Our greatest drawback has been that we have so far lived apart from the struggles of humanity. We have refused to be drawn in into the maelstorm, and unconcerned with the great fight going on all around us we have lived within our own imaginary worlds. But it is persons like Maxim Gorki or Lu Hsun we are in need of, persons who would write of the people, and put their claims before the country and the world. We should not, at the same time, sentimentalise the peasants or the workers, but we must evolve a technique of uncompromising realism. In this way alone shall we be able to become the people's spokesmen, and convince the world of our claims.

A Welcome Step.

The Progressive Writers' Association has taken a step in the right direction. It has preached an uncompromising realism, the facing of life squarely in the face, and dealing with the vital problems of our existence to-day. the problems of hunger and poverty, political subjection and social backwardness.

Let us not be carried away by the death instinct. Let us reveal instead that we can transform the face of poverty-ridden and lousy India into a land of peace and happiness. Let us prove to the world that we too possess a feeling heart which records the sorrows of humanity and is prepared to fight for it.

Let us convince people of the dangers of Fascism and Imperialism, and urge on them the necessity of building up a strong revolutionary movement.

Let us tell the people of Spain and China that we are with them in their great struggle for freedom and democracy.

And let us demonstrate that we have life within us and nothing can destroy it.

11,500,000 Working Women In Germany

There are 11,500,000 women earning their living in Germany to-day. These figures are revealed in a report just issued by the Women's Bureau of the German Labour Front. This organisation maintains 3,550 advisory centres throughout Germany to give information and advice to working women.

REORGANIZING EDUCATION TO BUILD A NATION

Italy's Method

By J. M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., S.T.B., Ph.D., Professor of Social Economy in the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay).

During the last few years we have been thinking furiously about the problem of educational reorganization. Many radical changes have taken place in our national life within the last fifty years which necessitate a complete overhauling of education to make the system effective in the promotion of individual efficiency and national welfare. The Wardha scheme has stimulated our thinking and several committees are now at working planning a reorganization. In this task of reconstruction, we have many valuable lessons to learn from the way other progressive countries have reorganized their educational systems for the purpose

Dr. J. M. Kumarappa.

of strengthening their civic and national life. Out of those, which are using educational techniques and methods for changing the habits and outlook of the people, the most outstanding are Russia and Italy. My purpose in this article is to show how Italy is utilizing the school as an effective agency to develop a new generation of patriotic citizens who will endeavour to make the Fascist Italy realize once again the past glories of the Roman Empire.

It was the educational experiment of the French Revolution that revealed how efficient an agency the school is for the training of the youth in good citizenship and national ideals. Since then the progressive nations of the West have made conscious and systematic attempts to utilize the school system for national purposes. In Italy, however, the divorce of Church and State produced two school systems,—one for civil and the other for religious purposes. And unfortunately the antagonism of these two destroyed the unity of the system as well as its practical effect for purposes of national education. Hence no serious attempt was made, prior to the world war, to teach patriotism or Italianism through the school. But now the whole system of education in Italy has been reorganized under the Fascist regime in order to raise up a new generation of citizens on the Fascist creed and political ideology. Full use is now being made of all the instrumentalities, both ancient and modern, to bring about a new nation in the teeth of all opposition. No such determined effort is being put forth by any modern state save Russia. The attempts, therefore, of Mussolini and his followers to stimulate patriotism and at the same time allegiance to the Fascist regime are full of meaning to us who are struggling to unify a disordered nation and stimulate patriotism in a people who have lost all interest in the civic welfare of their country.

Educational Reform

At the basis of this system of training in good citizenship are the elements of tradition, symbolism, language and literature, and at the top are the devices of formal education and special patriotic organizations. The measures of formal education have been enormously developed to meet the new situation. Under the leadership of Giovanni Gentile, a thoroughgoing reform was put through to establish schools for building national character. We may go even to the extent of saying that the most complete change made by the Fascist regime is really in the field of national education. New methods have been introduced, a new curriculum has been constructed and a new system from the kindergarten to the University, neglecting no phase of educational life in the effort for thoroughness and consistency, has been established.

Three Grades

Education in the elementary schools is divided into three grades: the "Grado Preparatorio" carries the pupils through three years of kindergarten all children between the ages of three and five; the "Grado Inferiore" covers three years of training after the first stage, and the "Grado Superiore", extends over two years, and it is the final stage in the elementary school education. Although it is necessary to be familiar with the structure of the Italian educational system in order to fully appreciate the part played by the school in civic training, it is not possible to deal with that aspect within the limited space of this article It is of more importance for us to know exactly what the pupils in these schools are taught. The programme formulated as a general guide for elementary education includes the following subjects:—Religion, singing, drawing and recitation; orthography, arithmetic, and various recreative and intellectual occupations; gardening, manual training, gymnastics, hygiene and domestic science; natural and physical science; history and geography; civics and economics, and professional work. Considerable emphasis is placed on language in the early years in order to enable the child, if for any reason he does not continue his studies, at least to read and write fairly well.

From the above programme of studies, one might think that no special attempt is made to emphasize nationalism. But that is not so. In the second year, during the time allowed for various recreational and intellectual occupations, the teacher must "relate episode of civil, religious and litary valour", explaining the faith necessary for making such sacrifices for the country. In the third year the teacher must read or relate stories to the children to develop their historical and national consciousness, drawing his material from the lives of Italy's great men and brave heroes, such as Garibaldi, Battisti. And in the fourth and fifth years, the teacher must give a series of readings to illustrate the regional contributions to the life of the nation, especially during the period of Italian unification. During the gymnastic period, the life of a soldier must be portrayed as an example of strength, discipline and courage. During the geography lessons special attention must be given to a study of the city, historical places in the region, the physical and political nature of Italy, and of foreign countries with special reference to those to which Italian emigrants have gone.

Textbooks And National Symbols

The study of history starts in the third year with Italian history beginning from 1848. This general course is supplemented by the readings of most significant proclamations, letters and memoirs of national martyrs. In the fourth year ancient history is taught with special emphasis on ancient Rome. In the fifth year the pupils study the period of foreign domination with emphasis on the history of th province, the works of Italian artists, important events of the nineteenth century, the achievements of Italian army and navy, and a comparison of Italy's national wealth with that of other countries. After the fifth year, the pupil must read at least one popular but well-known history book, dealing with the Italian colonies and foreign countries. Even in religious instruction, special attention is given to Italian saints. In addition to all these, there are the reading lessons which, though they do not appear in the programme as nationalistic, are extremely so in reality.

As a further guarantee that the instruction shall be of the kind desired, a decree was issued prohibiting the use of textbooks which had not been approved by the State. A Textbook Commission, headed by a highly competent scholar, G. Prezzolini, was appointed to censor all the texts, and to frame recommendations. The Commission presented an elaborate report on the whole question of content of courses, and recommended among other things a systematic instruction in Italian patriotism. It also pointed out that all the historical periods of contemporary history should be rewritten on account of the disproportionate emphasis given during the pre-war period to colonial wars, earthquakes, etc., as though they were great national events. It mentioned, further, that the rural as well as the working classes and all the active forces, like industry and commerce, should be given their legitimate place, and that men and events should be pictured in just proportions.

In addition to the influence of patriotic material in textbooks, Italian school children are surrounded with nationalist symbols. The lictor's rods,—emblem of imperial Rome and Fascism,—must now be worked into every new school building. In the classrooms of both elementary and secondary schools, there must be a crucifix, a picture of the king and one of Mussolini. Many of the classrooms are also provided with the announcement of victory drawn up by General Diaz. The black shirt and the black flag, Fascist uniforms and rituals, the salute, the national cry "eia eia, a-la-la" are all the creation of a new age and a new spirit. The Fascists desire that every day's work should begin with a prayer and a national hymn, that the schools have pictures of the heroes of "risorgimento" of the Great War, and the masters of Italian culture, that every school have its flag, and that on the eve of every vacation a patriotic speech be made, and that the children respond with the Roman salute. These are all parts of a vigorous effort to build up a Fascist symbolism to typify the new spirit of the new political entity, and furnish an emotional colour for their new loyalty to national ideals.

Teachers And Youth Organisations

Despite the national textbooks and patriotic environment, the education of the youth would not be nationalistic if the teachers were not imbued with the national spirit. Realizing this, the Fascists have taken special pains to see that the instructors have the necessary views on all political matters relating to the new Italy. A law has been enacted which makes teachers liable to discharge if they hold political views contrary to those of the Government. In order to be appointed to a teaching position, one must pass, of course, certain competitive examinations. In the selection,

(Continued on Page 54.)

Parade of Italian children in front of Il Duce.

The Menace Of Federation

Congress Must Back Up States People To Resist The Scheme

By BALVANTRAY MEHTA

The air is thick with rumours regarding the secret confabulations and negotiations now being carried on in India on the all-important issue of Federation. The visit to India of Lord Lothian and Samuel, the two well-known leaders of the British Liberal Party and the brains of Liberalism, as also their talks and interviews with the leaders of Indian Political thought, have raised a cloud of suspicion and misgivings in the minds of rank and file in the Congress regarding the outcome of these talks.

Sjt. Satyamurty recently published some statements, which have appeared in full in the Madras Press, the advice of Sjt. Muthuranga Mudaliar, the President of the Tamil Nad Provincial Conference, to contest the Federal elections, if necessary, and an editorial of 'The Hindu' soon after the first visit of Lord Lothian to Madras, appear to be pointers to the direction in which we have been moving. Sjt. Satyamurty and the 'Hindu' were the advance-guards in the movement of office-acceptance. They have succeeded in the sphere of Provincial Autonomy. They might succeed in another sphere as well, for, it seems, Sjt. Satyamurty appears, very often in these days. correctly to fathom the mind of the Congress High Command.

Patel-Bhulabhai Report

It is also remarkable that the Patel-Bhulabhai Report on the Federal issue, submitted to the Congress Working Committee has not seen the light of day. Some elaborate forecasts, that appeared in the press at the time of the Calcutta metting of the Working Committee have not been publicly contradicted, though they have been privately repudiated. The mystery surrounding that document has not yet been cleared up.

'The Hindu' among other grounds, specified the absence of popular representatives in the Federal Legislature from States as an important handicap in the acceptance of the Federal Scheme. It also urged that, while the Princes will have a share in the determination of certain purely British-India affairs, the people of British India will have no voice in the affairs of the States it further went on to suggest that, if in the event of popular representatives from States finding no place in the Federal Legislature, the Princes agreed to refrain from interfering in the affairs of exclusive British Indian interest, the scheme might become acceptable to the public opinion in British India. This opinion or suggestion, if it is shared to any appreciable extent by responsible leaders of the Congress, is fraught with infinite possibilities of mischief and danger. It is to be hoped that, in this matter at least, the "Hindu" does not reveal the trend of opinion being crystallised in Congress official circles consequent to the recent political discussions.

Prof. Tej Rajendra Singh, well-known musician, who gave a recital on the 9th inst. at the Y. W. C. A., will give another recital at the same place on the 23rd inst., when he will give some more of his new compositions.

"C. R." Resolution

Sjt. Rajagopalachariar, the Madras Premier, tabled a resolution on 'Federation' in the Madras Assembly. Its terms are revealing. It declares that it is politically and morally impossible for the people and Government of the Province to tolerate the imposition of the scheme of Federation as laid down in the Act of 1935. It also expresses its opinion that the said scheme would far from bringing about all India unity, provoke forces of conflict in the Provinces and Indian States' and suggests that the Government of great Britain will immediately devise means, even for transitional purpose, to set up a central Government free from the objectionable features of the present scheme.

It is worth noting that the resolution does not talk of forces of conflict between the Provinces and Indian States but of that in the Provinces and States. More remarkable still is the fact that the idea of Constituent Assembly is absent in the proposed method of evolving the temporary alternative scheme. The proposed scheme, it appears, is to embrace the Provinces and is to be formulated in consultation with the provincial cabinets and the national leaders. The States are expected to come in at a later stage where the parties concerned can reach a mutual agreement.

Syt. Balvantray Mehta, General Secretary of the All-India States People's Conference.

The question of good-will from the Madras Premier has scarcely any chance of an adequate response. This alternative was suggested and advocated by Mr. Jinnah at the R.T.C. Mahatmaji was also agreeable to consider it. It was rejected by the Britishers, for the Conservative party was not inclined to agree to even a modicum of responsibility at the centre unless the stabilising factors, viz. the states, were brought into the picture. The adhesion of both the Liberal and the Conservative Parties to the principle of responsibility at the centre was contingent upon the States joining the Federation with all their weight of conservatism and favour of loyalty to the Crown.

Methods Of Resistance

It is evident, therefore, that the Federal scheme as adumbrated in the Government of India Act is sure to be imposed upon us inspite of the unanimous national protest. The problem that needs solution is how best to combat this menace. The legal and constitutional devices are not going to succeed for the British have seen to it that the scheme is made obstruction proof. The only alternative, if at all, to a serious national upheaval, is the generation of popular strength in the Indian States and release of the vast potential pent-up forces of the States People for the purpose of organised resistance to the Pseudo scheme of central responsible Government.

If the Congress pulls its full weight, and if the people of the States are properly and adequately backed by the national leaders it is very likely that the Princes will be compelled either to refuse to enter the present mock-Federation or to concede representation to their people in the Federal Legislature coupled with responsible Government in the States. In the event of any one of these alternative materialising, it will be much easier for the Congress to exercise sufficient pressure upon the British Government to compel them to come to terms with the forces of Nationalism. This alternative method of fighting the reactionary constitution has not received sufficient attention and consideration at the hands of the national leaders, some of whom seem to be still under the influence of Victorian politics. In any case, this idea needs to be further explored to see if it does not provide a basis for the formulation of our future policy.

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HOW SHALL WE SUCCEED?

WHY OFFICES HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED

(By SHANKARRAO DEO,

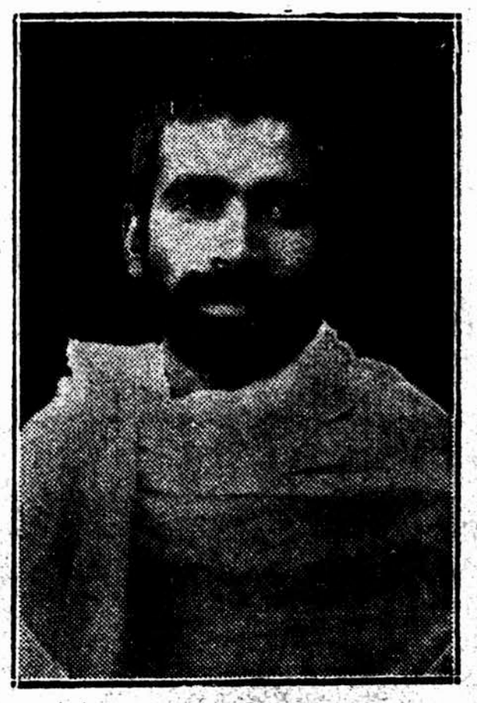
The Congress election manifesto says "In the opinion of the Congress, activity in the Legislatures should be such as to help in the work outside, in the strengthening of the people, and in the development of the sanctions, which are essential to freedom." In those Provincial Councils where Congress secured a majority, acceptance of office was not only a logical but necessary step if the Congress was to achieve this end. What was the work outside which would strengthen the people and create the necessary sanctions which are essential, in the opinion of the Congress, to freedom After the bitter experience of the policy of co-operation of more than three decades which led the nation nowhere nearer its goal, the Congress in 1920, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, for the first time adopted the policy of non-violent non-co-operation towards the foreign Government. By this time though the people were thoroughly convinced of the evils of foreign domination, the fear of the British force kept them in bondage. They gave their co-operation to the foreigners though they saw that that co-operation instead of loosening their chains tightened them more. At this critical juncture in the history of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi came forward and told his countrymen that the organised violence of the rulers could only be successfully met not by organised violence but by organised non-violence on the part of the people. The best way was not to meet a gun with a gun but make the gun of the ruler useless by fearlessness on the part of the people. Mahatma Gandhi further advised his countrymen to non-co-operate with all those institutions, such as legislature, courts, schools and colleges, through which the foreigners really tightened their hold over the people.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (2nd from left) in consultation with Mr. Malik, engineer of the Ahmedabad Municipality and Mr. Ramdas, the Congress engineer.

The Constructive Programme

But this organised non-violence and effective non-co-operation on the part of the people was only possible if they were made conscious of their own power and there was intensive co-operation amongst themselves. Thus the so-called constructive programme alone could achieve. Therefore Mahatma Gandhi asked the nation to concentrate on this constructive programme. This constructive programme had the power to bridge the gulf between the classes and the masses as well as the towns-people and the village people. The constructive programme could alone unite and organise under the Congress banner all the classes and the communities and prepare them to go through that suffering and sacrifice which were necessary, if they were to meet the organised violence of the Government. How far this policy of non-violent non-co-operation and constructive programme have succeeded can be judged by the results that the nation has achieved during the last seventeen years in its march towards freedom.

Though to-day the Congress has entered the Legislatures, and even accepted the responsibility of carrying on the Government it has not abandoned its basic policy of non-violent non-co-operation and the constructive programme which it adopted in 1920. If it has entered the legislatures to-day it has done so not to co-operate with the foreign Government out of its sense of helplessness, but to demand co-operation from the Government out of its sense of power in order that ultimately it may succeed in gaining freedom. The Congress has not tried to hide this fact even from its opponents. Though it has decided to work within the Constitution in the Legislatures, its sole object in doing this is to strengthen the people and create the necessary sanctions so that ultimately it may wreck the Constitution and force the foreign Government to concede its demands of framing its own constitution through a Constituent Assembly.



Shankarrao Deo.

Need For People's Co-operation

If the Congress is to succeed in its object it must be able to work for some time in the Councils on its own terms. This will be possible only to the extent that the people willingly exercise non-violence in their conduct towards the Government as well as to-towards one another. This means that there must be willing and complete co-operation between the different classes in the society and complete peace and harmony in the different communities in the country. This complete co-operation and harmony can be brought about if the Congress uses the Legislatures to further its constructive programme such as—measures to bring about increasing communal co-operation and friendship, removal of untouchability, complete prohibition, progressive betterment of economic conditions of the masses, attempts to build their life on co-operative basis and mutual trust, free and compulsory primary education, the social enfranchisement of women, general uplift of the masses through mass adult education, etc.

If the Congress is allowed to work on these lines for some time its power will be so increased as to make it irresistible even for the mighty British Empire. Will the nation help the Congress to generate this power? If it does, at least in the Provinces, the safeguards and the special powers of the Governors will be dead letter.

Bread And Stone

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Grim tragedy is shut
Up in the peasant's hut
Which is unlit and damp,
And when he has a lamp
Its flame is sadly lit:
There is a wound in it.
He bears his grief alone,
The ever-living dead:
And when he asks for bread
They give him stone!

They teach him holy hymns
Who use his blood and limbs
To make the harvests yield.
The peasant breaks the field
To make those harvests pleasant:
The landlord breaks the peasant!
Nobody hears him groan
Nor hears his weary tread:
And when he asks for bread,
They give him stone.

Under death's heavy yoke
Life is his masterstroke,
O, listen to the tones
Of death which plays his bones
Like flutes a sudden rife
With music of new life!
Sleep to him is unknown,
The peasant's eyes are red,
Since when he asks for bread
They give him stone.

But soon the days will change
and no more will he range.
Along the hills of grief,
His night of pain is brief,

Harindranath

And soon the dawn will bring
The peasant's winter, spring!
Then fields shall be his own,
He shan't be underfed:
He will not ask for bread
Nor will they give him stone.

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WHERE THE CONGRESS MEETS

A plaster bust of the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel made by Kalavisharad M. S. Pandhey (left) of Khamgaon, which is displayed in the Exhibition.

Kalavisharad M.S. Pandhey with some of his models of rural life which are on view in the Exhibition at Vithalnagar.

A batch Women Volunteers on duty at the Congress.

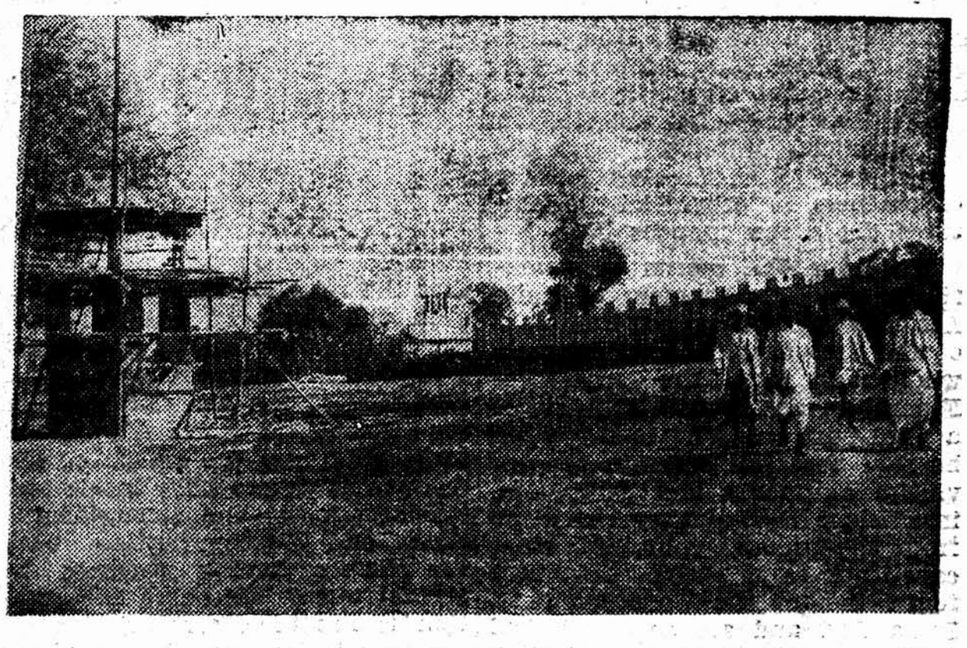
Main Pandal of the Swadeshi Exhibition.

Congress Visitors' Camp.

Newly Built Boat-Bridge over Tapti River.

SCENES FROM VITHALNAGAR

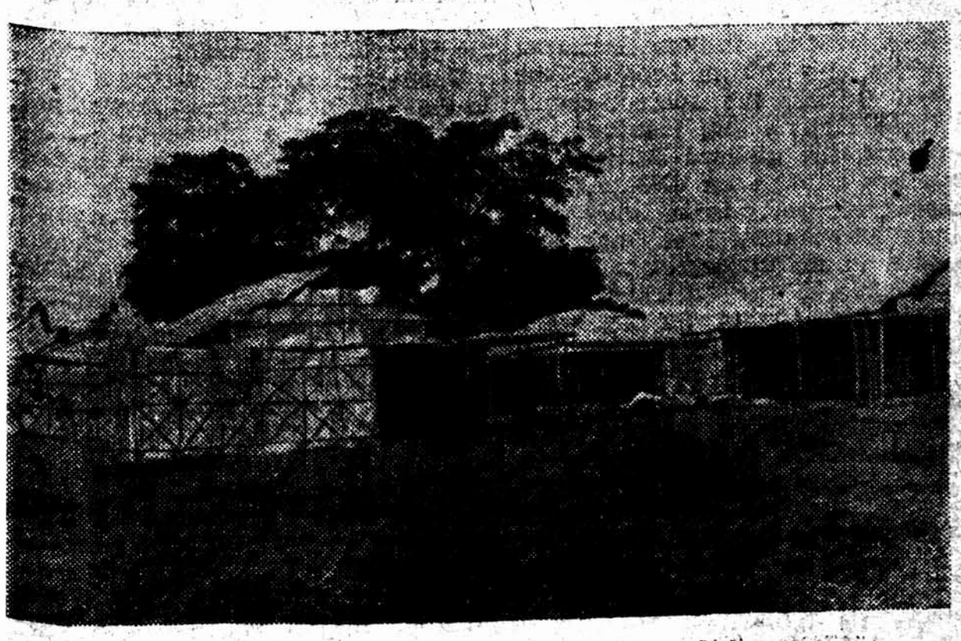
One of the main gates to Vithalnagar.



Rostrum (under construction) from which speakers will address the session.

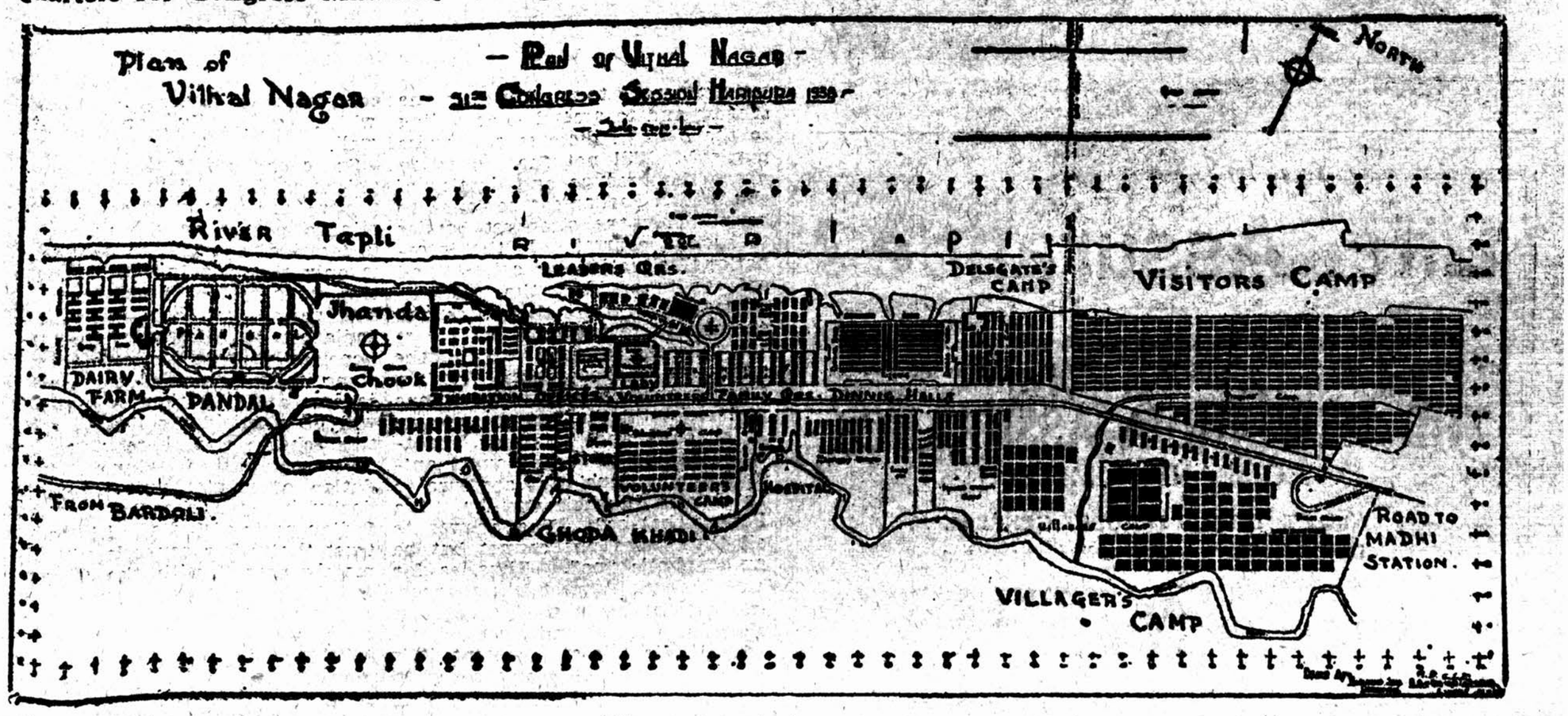
"Rath" in which the Congress President was taken in procession.

Congress Subjects Committee Pandal.



Quarters for Congress Ministers visiting the session.

Lady Volunteers at their midday meals.



Plan of Vithalnagar.

Federation: To Accept Or To Reject It?

Work It For What It Is Worth

(By Mr. L. B. BHOPATKAR,

L. B. BHOPATKAR, B.A., LL.B.

To accept or to reject Federation as is adumbrated in the Government of India Act, 1935, is a question which is at present agitating the mind of political India, just as the acceptance or rejection of provincial autonomy and the consequent formation or otherwise of cabinets in provincial legislatures did a few months back.

Whatever the merits or demerits of the Government of India Act may be, one cannot lose sight of the fact that it is an organic whole, and that the scheme of Federation as embodied therein is a vital part thereof. It may even be said that the schemes of provincial autonomy and Federation, insufficient though they may be from the Indian point of view, constitute as it were the very foundation of the Government of India Act, and are so interlinked with each other that the rejection of the one will in all probability result in the rejection of the other. Furthermore, the Act is imposed by the British Parliament which has had almost a strangle-hold upon India, and out of which it behoves Indian politicians and statesmen to release her with tact and statesmanship.

Two Angles Of Vision

It should also be borne in mind that the Act contains not a scheme of full-fledged responsible Government, but merely an echo thereof, as the Army, Foreign relations, Railways, the Reserve Bank and so forth, which form the essentials of a responsible Government, are subjects in respect of which the people are given absolutely no control. It should also be seriously considered as to whether the rejection of Federation by even the strongest political parties in India will or will not necessarily lead to the scrapping off that part of the Act, and whether such a step will or will not amount to playing into the hands of the reactionary forces both inside and outside India, and strengthening them, and thereby putting back the clock of India's progress by several years. In short, the question is not of a sort or kind as deserves to be hustled out of the political arena with a short shrift, but is certainly one which demands a calm and dispassionate consideration at the hands of all those who have India's interests close to their hearts.

The question may be viewed from the following angles of vision, to wit, firstly, whether the principle of Federation should be accepted? Secondly, can the scheme of Federation as is contained in the Act be rejected? And thirdly, whether it should be rejected?

Accept Principle Of Federation

So far as the first aspect is concerned, it may be safely said that barring certain extreme political elements which have scarcely got any precise and clear-out ideas about what they do or do not want, all others are agreed on the acceptance of the principle of Federation in preference to the other two alternative forms of Government, namely, the unitary form of Government and the dictatorship of individuals or parties. India has had enough and to spare of the former, and she will be well advised to steer clear of the latter in time, if she is at all minded to profit by the experience of dictatorships which are running rampant at present in Russia, Italy, and Germany. Dictatorship, however alluring and beneficient it may appear to be in its inception, carries with it the seeds of despotism, which, in course of time, fructify in the destruction of all free and healthy life. So, taking a long-range view of the actualities of the present-day political situation and its immediate potentialities, one cannot escape the conclusion that India has arrived at a stage in her political advance where her interests will be best subserved by the willing acceptance of the principle of Federation and an explicit rejection of the other two principles of the unitary form of Government and dictatorship.

Can Federal Scheme Be Rejected?

When once this position is conceded, the solution of the other two aspects of the question becomes a comparatively easy task. At present the Federal part of the Government of India Act is opposed by the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, the Indian Rulers, the subject-people of these Rulers, and last but not the least, the diehard British Imperialists, though for different and varying reasons. It is only the Hindu Mahasabha that has expressed in no uncertain terms its acceptance of the federal scheme, inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing as it is.

And here exactly the other two aspects of the question arise for our consideration. "Can" the federal scheme be rejected? Is the scheme so conceived and formed that the non-participation of its opponents therein, will necessarily result in its being found unworkable? Has not the scheme left open the door sufficiently wide for the reactionaries to go in and work it? Will the combined effort and pressure of all the opposing parties, dubious as it is, be sufficiently powerful to compel the British Cabinet and its representatives here to reconsider the scheme and to amend it according to the likes or dictates of these parties? Will not the question about the prestige and dignity of the British Parliament be found to be probably the strongest barrier to such a course? Is the international situation so calm and safe as to enable the British Statesmen to spare their time and energies to review and to recast the scheme afresh? Will the opponents of Federation remain true to their present intentions and resist till the last the scheme at all costs and hazards, notwithstanding the many and manifold temptations that are sure to be thrown in their way by the Powers-that-be? The answer to all these questions cannot but be an emphatic "no". Thus, so far as the second aspect is concerned, one cannot avoid the conclusion that conditioned and circumstanced as India is at present, it is beyond her capacity and power to reject the federal scheme or to compel the British Parliament to scrap it

"Work It For What It Is Worth"

But the more important aspect is, whether it "should" be rejected? Is it desirable to do so? Will the rejection thereof advance in any way India's cause? Will not the acceptance of the scheme as it is, and working it out for what it is worth, and a persistent agitation not only for its modification, but also for the amendment of the whole Act itself, be the better part of valour? Bluff has sometimes its own place in political agitation. But it has also its own limitations. Moreover, there is also a growing party in India which is intent upon and out for downright chaos and confusion. Is it desirable in the larger interests of India to help it send the Indian politics into a chaotic condition? And by pursuing this course is it likely that India will create any favourable impression in such quarters of hhe world as are in sympath with India's aspirations and struggle for political freedom?

Furthermore, all struggle for India's freedom hereafter will not be worth even a moment's purchase if sincere endeavour be not made to bring the so-called British India and Indian India into closer touch and unity. Democracy in British India and autocracy in Indian India, separated one from the other by a mountain here or a river there, will probably be the greatest contradiction in politics. Indian India, steeped in autocratic traditions and closed against the vivifying breath of democratic ideals will not only operate as the greatest drag upon, but also as the greatest menace to, British India. It, therefore, becomes the bounden duty of the British Indian patriots and politicians to bring the Indian Rulers in a line with themselves. however circumscribed the field may be at the very beginning. For, history clearly testifies to the fact that when democracy and autocracy come together, it is the latter which uitimately goes to the wall.

So, considered from all standpoints of view and in proper perspective, the verdict of every right-minded person on the point of Federation is bound to be that it is only the principle of federation upon which the structure of any permanent constitution for India can be raised; that it is hopeless, at least for some time to come, to get modified the present scheme of Federation; and that it will be a suicidal policy to reject this scheme and thereby to lose an opportunity of laying the foundation of greater unity and solidarity between the British and Indian parts of India. I hope and trust that wiser counsels will ultimately prevail with the Congress High Command and that it will not shrink from courageously accepting the risks and responsibilities of the federal scheme, inadequate and disappointing as it is.

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The Indian States & The Congress

PLEA FOR JUSTICE AND FAIRPLAY

(By CHIMANLAL M. DOCTOR, M.A., LL.B., Editor, "The NAVA GUJARAT", Baroda).

I have always thought that the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards the subjects of the Indian States in their struggle for vindicating the fundamental rights of citizenship and securing responsible self-government by peaceful and legitimate means does not commend itself to the leaders of the people in those States. Perhaps, as they know where the shoe pinches, they cannot be blamed for their dissatisfaction with the Congress attitude as interpreted by the Working Committee and Mahatma Gandhi.

Inability May Be Excused

If it were a case of the inability of the Congress actively to help the Indian States subjects owing to its full absorption in the struggle for wrestling "Purna Swaraj" from the unwilling hands of Britain, much can be said in favour of it. Weakness of the Congress can be excused, since it does not rule out the desire to help. Similarly it can be said with truth that the attainment of "Purna Swaraj" will mean the substitution of the Dominion or Independent Government of India as representative of the Paramount Power, and Indian States, if they existed at the time, would be politically advised to bring their constitutions and administrations in line with those in force in the British Indian Provinces, in order to put the Indian States subjects on a level of absolute equality with British Indians with regard to enjoyment of political rights and fundamental rights of citizenship. It may also be argued that the Congress cannot afford to dissipate its energies and find itself involved in struggle with the 562 Rulers of Indian States to the detriment of its supreme duty to put all its powers into requisition to secure "Purna Swaraj" from British Imperialism. I do not believe that the Congress entertains any hope of support from Indian Princes in their struggle, since the vested interests of the Princes cannot make them natural allies of an increasingly socialistic Congress, which will be out to see that the "have-nots," economically politically, socially, and spiritually come into their own. The utmost that the Congress may expect from them is bare neutrality, since our Princes cannot afford to incur the displeasure of His Majesty's representative in India, by active help to or sympathy for the Congress.

Are Indian States Foreign Entities

But if the Congress adopts Mahatma Gandhi's view that Indian States are beyond the jurisdiction of the Indian National Congress like Ceylon, French India, Portuguese India, Afghanistan as independent entities not subject to the Central Government in British India, the case becomes different. In that case, the Congress can have no entry in Indian States. Just as we cannot enrol as Indian Congressmen, Afghans, Ceylonese, French Indians, Portuguese Indians, the Congress will also be debarred from enrolling Indian States subjects as Congressmen, and States like Travancore would be fully justified in not allowing any activity of the Congress within their limits. Mysore also could not be blamed for its crusade against Mysorean Congressmen since it cannot allow its citizens to owe allegiance to a foreign political body. Mahatma Gandhi's views to class Indian States with independent foreign States like Afghanistan are quite in consonance with the wishes of Indian Administrators in Indian States, who quote him in order to dissuade State subjects or their Associations from having any affiliations with the Congress or to pass practically anti-Congress orders against subjects who become prominent by their too pronounced Congress activities. Such States are willing to entertain and honour big Congress leaders like Mahatmaji, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, etc., but do not give rest to local Congressmen or lesser lights from outside like Mr. K. F. Nariman. So the Haripura Congress session ought to tell us whether subjects of Indian States are just like citizens of Afghanistan as understood by Mahatma Gandhi and as such the Congress cannot do anything for them, in which case it will have logically to remove from its rolls the names of all Congressmen belonging to Indian States, just as it cannot have on its rolls Afghan citizens. If the Congress, however, considers Indian States as part and parcel of the India for which they wish to bring "Swaraj, it will be bound to abide by the decision of the All-India Congress Committee to lend moral and active support to Indian States subjects in their fight against State authorities for the vindication of fundamental rights and attainment of full responsible Government under the aegis of their respective Rulers.

States' People To Develop Power

I, however, agree with Sardar Vallabhbhai in his advice to Indian States people to cultivate their strength by doing constructive work and not to come unnecessarily into conflict with State authorities so long as they are weak. . . He tells us "strong and united people have the right to depose a Prince, if need be, and not a weak people." Workers in Indian States are asked to devote themselves to the service of the subjects in all fields of activity, with or without the co-operation of the State authorities for the development of unity, rural uplift, character and solidarity of the people and substantial amelioration of the lot of the masses. Selfless service will tell, and the subjects of the States will be nearer their goal more by the removal of their own defects than by the denouncement of faults of others.

Selfless Sacrifice

The present participation of the subjects of Indian States in the national struggle for "Swaraj" is selfless in the real sense of the word since that does not free them from the good or bad autocracy of their Princes and their administrations, but involves them in difficulties in their own States and exposes them to "Lathi" charge, or imprisonment in British India.

Discrimination Not Removed

Not only this, but the British Indian Congressmen, while proclaiming that they make no distinction between the citizens of British India and Indian India, have not yet given any sign of carrying their words into practice, even when they occupy the seats of the mighty by forming Congress Ministries. For instance, in the Presidency of Bombay, the Indian States people are discriminated against as regards fees in the Grant Medical College and, I believe, in the Engineering College, and have to pay higher fees than students from British India or rather the Bombay Presidency. Students from Indian States are also discriminated against as regards admission in these institutions.

Sincerity Wanted

If the Bombay Congressmen were sincere, the Bombay Ministry would have asked the heads of these institutions long ago to admit students from Indian States belonging geographically and contiguous to the Presidency on a level of absolute equality with students from the Presidency on the basis of merit only and charge the same fees to them as to British Indians.

Discrimination In Services

Similarly in the provincial services Indian States subjects and specially subjects from States who were not politically under the Government of Bombay in 1925, cannot even apply for a post, much less can they get an appointment in the services. The conditions of applying for Provincial posts are such that people from Indian States may be enjoying the provincial franchise but they or their children are not eligible for the services. What has the Congress Ministry done to put the subjects of Indian States geographically belonging to the Presidency of Bombay on a level of equality and to remove these disabilities of people who have taken so much part in the national struggle?

What I want to show is that people from Indian States have selflessly sacrificed, while British Indians are reaping the reward of their own sacrifice and have forgotten to be just to Indian States people.

States Entertain British Indians

If it be argued that Indian States do not entertain British Indians in their services, it is wrong since whatever may be said in some States on paper or publicly to close the mouths of Indian States people, in practice, British Indians are always entertained in the State Civil Services as well as military services under one pretext or another, either of merit or technical skill or expert knowledge, and States subjects are generally relegated to the subordinate services of clerks, etc.

Between The Devil And Deep Sea

The States people thus find themselves deprived of the chance of being employed in British India, and have not much prospects of being well employed in their own State services as well.

Leaders From Indian States

In spite of all these disabilities it redounds, to the credit of subjects of Indian, States that they have been able to give men like Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahatma Gandhi. Darbar Saheb, N. C. Kelkar, Jamnadas Mehta, and many others to British India as leaders, and if we examine the rank and file of those who have suffered for the cause, it will be found that there were many persons from Indian States who and whose progeny would be discriminated against as regards admission and fees in certain Government educational institutions and would be ineligible for Provincial services even if they had the franchise under the new constitution.

Duty Of The Congress

In these circumstances, it is the duty of the Congress to be just and fair towards the subjects of Indian States and instruct the Congress Ministries to put into practice the statement that Indian States subjects and British Indians are all alike in the eyes of the Congress and remove all the disabilities that Indian States people may be suffering from in their respective British provinces. It is also the duty of the Congress to help the subjects of Indian States in winning the recognition of the fundamental rights of citizenship and being set on the road to full responsible Government in Indian India or at least securing fully responsive administrations so that public opinion may prevail. The help may take any form, it may be persuasion or influence or both, or it may be active help and sympathy according to circumstances.

Gratefulness To Congress Leaders

The States subjects, are grateful to Congress leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiyya, N. C. Kelkar and others for accepting the Presidentship of the several State Praja Mandals or Indian States' Peoples Conferences on different occasions and giving them valuable advice in their individual capacity.

The Congress has now become sufficiently strong and as it occupies the seats of the mighty to-day, her leaders will carry great weight with the Princes and their advisers, if they care to influence them in favour of their subjects—the States people.

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Indians In Foreign Lands

Need For Fresh Review Of The Situation

(By Rammanohar Lohia, Secretary, Foreign Department, Indian National Congress.)

Though spread all over the world, the essential concentration of Indian populations overseas has been effected on a belt which runs around the Equator from the North Atlantic over the Indian Ocean to the South Pacific. British Guiana in South America and the neighbouring island of Trinidad contain Indian communities which are nearly one-half of their entire population. The entire South and East of Africa are dotted over by considerable Indian populations. In the three islands of the Indian Ocean, Zanzibar, Mauritius and Ceylon, Indians constitute anywhere between one-tenth and three-fourths of their respective populations. Situate between the Bay of Bengal and the China Sea, they account for nearly one-seventh of the population of Malaya. Beyond Australia, in the Fiji Islands, they are nearly as many as the Fijians themselves. The Equatorial life-line of the British Empire is effectively intersected with vast Indian concentrations.

Army-Chiefs and administrators built up Britain's colonial empire and capitalists owned it and worked it. Labour and tradesmen were equally necessary for the economic opening out of this Empire. India supplied these while Britain produced the Empire's capitalists and administrators. In its essentials, the present position of Indians in the British colonies is a continuation of what it has been ever since the first migrations started nearly a hundred years ago. The insult of the indenture system is of course gone as also the feudal serfdom which it entailed. The Indian is no longer tied to his employer in a system of vicious contracts extending over many years. The indentured labourer has also in a number of cases transformed himself into the small peasant. However, the Indian continued to be the labourer, small peasant and petty trader of Britain's colonial empire. In recent years, he has also risen into the free professions and stray individuals have also come into the ownership of large plantations and factories. Essentially, however, the strength as also the weakness of the Indian position in the British colonies depends upon the labourer, small peasant, petty trader and the free professions. As the difficulties of the Empire and consciousness among the masses are growing, the vast Indian concentrations in the British colonies are rapidly acquiring economic and political importance.

Elsewhere in the Empire and in other foreign countries, Indians number many and have risen into fairly important positions. There is a string of Indian traders which starts from Tokio and Hongkong and extends over Iraq and Gibraltar into Panama. There are always a large number of Indian students in the more important world-cities. Many Indians have held and still hold important professorial, consular, army and international missions of free foreign countries.

A Tragic Community

Overseas Indians have always suffered from a variety of disabilities and have been very much a tragic community. They went out from their country as serfs, labourers and tradesmen and India, subject herself to foreign domination was unable to be of any political or economic assistance to them. They are now faced with a danger which almost threatens to wipe them out. This is the danger of the attempt of British Imperialism to achieve structural changes in its colonial economy. The pre-war structure of a multitude of petty tradesmen and small peasants is utterly inadequate to the needs of post-war imperialism that has no further colonial territories to open out. Imperialism must, therefore, rationalise itself and wipe out the petty tradesmen and peasants. Indians are the direct victims of this new imperialist attack. Elsewhere too, the general increase of nationalist feeling and the inability of India to be of any assistance have caused a certain deterioration of the Indian position.

Any effective resistance to the new imperialist policies will depend on how far Indians overseas are able to grapple with and overcome their own weaknesses. Their individualistic past and sectional divisions on the basis of their home language and province are their first bane. Uprooted from the communal life of home, overseas Indians have tended to be narrowly individualistic by virtue of their calling of petty trades and small farms. In addition, the different Indian languages, predominantly Hindustani, Tamil and Gujerati, that are spoken among them have created barriers without any inter-communication or mutual understanding. These divisions have sometimes degenerated into shabby squabbles. The Hindustani, Tamilian and Gujerati have kept aloof from one another. Increasing enlightenment and the general imperialist attack have created an atmosphere in which these age-old divisions have little chance of survival. It should be a first task of overseas Indians to consolidate and make intensive use of this atmosphere.

Need For Change In Outlook

There is something tenacious in Indian culture and, despite the distance of thousands of miles, this culture has stuck to our overseas compatriots. Inevitably, the dominant trend of this culture has been religious. This explains the comparatively small number of overseas Indians who have changed their religion and have embraced Christianity instead. To the extent that the religious quality of Indian culture has saved our overseas communities from the strangle-grip of Christianity and, consequently, from the nameless merging into a dull hybrid and cultureless existence, it has been useful. It has however had serious drawbacks. The dividing line between religion and orthodoxy is not always clear and overseas Indians have lately fallen under a more serious spell of orthodoxy. Hindu and Mahomedan preachers alike, who know little and care to know less about the world in which they live, have in recent years migrated in large numbers to the colonies of Indian concentration. They have not only confirmed their flock in their faiths but have encouraged overseas Indians to look upon religion as the supreme principle of life. This religion is often a superstition. From so far off a land like Jamaica, distanced from us by nearly ten thousand miles the Congress Foreign Department has received a striking illustration of this superstitious religion. The Jamaica Hindus seem to have been carrying on an endless controversy as to whether marriages could be performed after dusk according to Vedic rites and they have requested our co-operation in the solution of this controversy. Such superstitious orthodoxy among Hindus and Mahomedans alike tends to undermine the Indians' position in foreign lands and keeps them in a state of ineffective ignorance. Religion becomes their staple mental food. They have little attention and energy for the more engrossing problems of life and culture. Overseas Indians must effect a fundamental change in their mental outlook and shift the emphasis of their thought from religious superstition to more vital cultural problems. It is true that a very large number of Indians in different lands have already liberated themselves from superstitious beliefs and, in consequence, the task of liberating entire Indian communities overseas should not be difficult.

Overseas Indians have a great possibility of achieving universal literacy and education. Still, their attainments in this field thus far are not very praiseworthy. To an extent the discriminating policies of the various Governments who do not regard the education of Indian children as one of their charges is responsible for this state of affairs. Whatever the attitude of the various Governments, overseas Indians must and can help themselves to a large extent in the matter of widespread and universal education. They can teach Hindustani, the Universal language of India, in their schools and ought to be able to impart to their students a working knowledge of the African and other languages that are spoken in their colonies.

There is among overseas Indians a wide lag between the educated classes and the masses. They know little mutual contact. The free professions and the rich maintain a social existence of their own and seldom concern themselves with the problems of the small planter and the labourer. If

(Continued On Page 47)

"PRECIOUS GIFT"

From Late HAKIM AJMAL KHAN'S Private Treatise.
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FIVE YEARS PLAN FOR ADULT EDUCATION

To Wipe Out Illiteracy From The Land Adult Education Must Be Made Compulsory

By PRINCIPAL Dr. BALKRISHNA

The advantages of universal adult education need not be discussed here. It will suffice to mention that adult franchise has not been conferred upon the people of British India on account of the existence of colossal illiteracy and the absence of political organizations and political education. The Congress is demanding a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of universal franchise to frame the new constitution for India. British statesmen are bitterly opposed to it mainly for the reason that there is no literate electorate conscious of its rights and duties or intelligent and active to take part in politics.

In our country 86 per cent. of the males and 98 per cent of the females are illiterate at present. There are no political organizations which can educate the masses in the small towns and in rural areas. The Liberal Association is content to pass resolutions in its annual sessions the Muslim League has just begun to follow in the footsteps of the Congress for coming into contact with the masses. The Congress, too, can claim only 30 lakh members in all the provinces. The foremost need of the new democratic India is a literate electorate. A scheme of universal adult education should, within the shortest possible time, create such an electorate and thus remove all reasonable objections to the grant of adult franchise and the adoption of a democratic form of Government.

Herculean Task

For the purpose of this scheme. "the adult population" may be taken to mean males and females between the ages of 16 and 50. People above 50 are sufficiently intelligent and mature to utilize their vote. Children below 15 years will come under the compulsory primary education scheme and hence they are left out of the sphere of adult education. Adolescents of the quinquennial group of 16—20 years, are included by me in the category of the adults as these will otherwise be left off.

The Herculean task can be gauged from the fact that 80 per cent. of the males and 96 per cent. of the females are illiterate among the adolescents and adults in British India, while in the States illiteracy is still greater. In British India (excluding Burma) there were 25 3|4 crores and in the States 8 crores of people in 1931. A normal population has usually one-half of its total strength between the ages of 15 and 50. The literacy standard of the census being reading and writing a letter. is very low. Even taking this as the basis, 10-1|2 crore males and 12 crore females will have to be educated in British India alone.

In the Bombay Province, excluding Sind, the States and Aden there were 180 thousand persons in 1931 and 52 per cent. persons were between the ages of 15 and 50 years. About 12 per cent. of the people from the age of 14, were literate. Thus there will be about 82 lakhs of persons to be made literate in this province. Such an immensity of the work may lead some to believe that it is impossible to complete within a short time.

Adult Education Must Be Made Compulsory

It is the fundamental right of man to obtain the blessings of knowledge and the foremost duty of the state to educate all. We cannot allow option to the people to remain ignorant. The masses in India have remained steeped in ignorance for ages due to traditional inertia, their indifference to political and economic matters, the Vedantic tendencies, social and religious prejudices and the stoic indifferences of the State. With the introduction of Swaraj Governments must come forward with an organized effort for a compulsory adult education to wipe out illiteracy from the land. In all progressive countries a certain standard of education has been made compulsory for children. At this stage the same policy is essential for educating the adults, but compulsory education should be free for the poor.

Organization

In my opinion the Provincial Governments should directly and immediately take up male education. A minimum standard of teaching the three R's should be laid down. It may consist of reading and writing some difficult primers, numbers up to 1,000 and the four basic rules of arithmetic for simple sums of three figures.

I believe that for such a course six months will be required by each person if he or she is given an hour's training on the average per day. Examinations should be held after every three months. Honorary Inspectors should be appointed for each village, taluka, district and division. A new department of Adult Education should be created with a Deputy Minister of Education at its head to work out the Five Years Plan. A few paid inspectors will have to be appointed to supervise its working. Many honorary workers will require travelling expenses and the department itself must be manned strongly for working out the plan. It is useless to give an approximate estimate of its administrative expenses till there is an agreement on its essential principles.

Main Principles Of The Plan

(1) A census in each village and town will be taken to make a roll of the literate and illiterate adults. The latter will be required to pass the literacy test.

(2) Every male adult must appear for the examination at the end of one year and pass it within three years, unless permitted by the Medical Board an extension of time. Delinquents should be fined.

(3) For reducing the expenses to the State the males in each family should coach their female folk or get them educated under their supervision. Hence females shall be required to sit for the compulsory examination in two years after the introduction of the plan, but they can appear earlier in any examination which will be held for the Literacy Test.

(4) For several reasons more time will be required by women to pick up the course. In my opinion instead of six months one year will be necessary for teaching the course to women. The conditions stated in (2) will also apply to females. Each teacher coaching the illiterates and getting them pass the examination may be paid Rs. 2 per head. If this expense cannot be borne by the Government, each illiterate male be asked to contribute one rupee towards the cost of education. But if adult instruction must be given gratis, then compulsory conscription of educated men between the ages of 20 to 50 be introduced. Every one must work one hour a day for the state without any remuneration or give a monthly contribution to be paid to salaried teachers for this work.

Thus the expenses will vary with the adoption of each one of the three alternatives. But the total expense per annum is not prohibitive. The aggregate number of illiterate males being about 41 lakhs, the total expense on their instruction at the rate of Rs. 2 per head will be Rs. 82 lakhs.

Only 1|5th of this sum will have to be spent in one year. The administrative expenses are to be added to the amount. All this expenditure is essential to create general literacy as the true basis of democracy.

Stupendous Campaign

If one crore adults have to be educated within five years, 20 lakhs must pass the examination in one year, or 10 lakhs have to pass the test examination after an education of six months or one year. In case of 25 per cent. failures it will be necessary to educate 12 to 15 lakhs adults at a time. 50,000 teachers working an hour per day will be wanted, if a class of 30 adults is taken by each teacher for instruction. There were more than 17,000 institutions in the province in 1936. Taking two teachers per institution we can have 34,000 teachers available for the work. Then there were 128 thousand scholars in the colleges and secondary schools in 1936. Including primary schools. the total number verged on 13 lakhs for British Districts alone; while 20 lakhs were literates. It means that seven lakh literates were outside the schools and colleges. Hence lakh of workers can be easily available for one year. By means of conscription I am sure that illiteracy can be liquidated within five years without much expense.

The success of this plan is based on the condition that instruction be given to all adults free or at the least expense. Cheapest books must be supplied to all.

A primer of 16 pages of the usual text book size can be given for one pice. Eight primers of

(Continued on page 46)

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The Congress Government Of U. P.

Achievements And Promises

By Gopinath Srivastava, Parliamentary Secretary, Prison and Public Information:—

Within the short period of their existence, the stock-taking of the Congress Government in the United Provinces is sure to be in the nature of a hastily sketched blueprint. A few measures have got going, and more are in contemplation. The picture of a running horse is not as beautiful as that of one resting in the stables. Yet, a review may be helpful to bring out the principles at work and remove, atleast, a part of the misapprehensions which have been fostered.

Seven Governments, to-day, are being run by the Congress. Their policies are determined by the aims and ideals of the Indian National Congress expressing themselves through important resolutions by the national body and rendered concrete by the Congress Working Committee. Such an arrangement has resulted in increased strength for carrying out the purpose in view, viz., Independence, which is not for any particular class, but for all sections of the people. The National demands possess in themselves elements which more than offset the supposed inelasticity of the Congress Instruments of Instructions. Regions may differ in their local conditions, but poverty makes kins of them all.

Assurance Of Civil Liberties

The first work, however, that the U. P. Government set to themselves was the assurances of civil liberties. Ban on unlawful associations, and their number was a legion, were lifted, prohibitive orders were cancelled, and political prisoners convicted under Section 124 A. I. P. C. and most of the Kakori Case were immediately released. The Premier, Pundit Govind Ballabh Pant, assured the A. I. C. C. meeting at Calcutta in the last X'mas that before they

Mr. Gopinath Srivastava

dispersed the last prisoner would see the light of the day outside the prison bars of U. P. He has kept his promise. Be it noted that associations hitherto illegal were mostly Youth and Labour organisations. To-day, their political activities, so long as they do not militate against the basic assumptions of the Congress creed which also is the most important article of faith, viz., truth and non-violence, are unrestricted. At last the people of the United Provinces, the students, the workers, and the Kisans, have a chance of expressing and organising themselves. No certificate of non-participation of political activities need be produced by a student.

The restoration of Civil Liberties could not be achieved without restricting the activities of the C. I. D. Similarly the rule of law could not be secured without crushing bribery and corruption. The C. I. D. officers have been detailed on the new work. A Special Officer has been appointed to stop corrupt practices. The work is being vigorously pursued. Good results are expected.

Freedom Of The Press

The U. P. Government recognise that the most important condition precedent to Civil Liberties is the Freedom of Press. To fulfil it securities, save those demanded in connection with communal tension and excitement to violence, have been refunded. Press advertisements, court notices, etc., are not to be given or withdrawn merely for political opinions. Government patronage ceases to be patronage once it is fixed upon economic basis. The Department of Publicity has been changed into one of Public Information, and for the first time, a non-official and a non-political has been placed at its head—I mean that brilliant economist and writer, Professor D. P. Mukerji.

Jail Reform

Those who have read Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's Autobiography or Mr. Spratt's account of his prison experiences need not doubt the wisdom of the immediate tackling of the Jail Administration of the U. P. Government. The number of prisoners has been considerably reduced, a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society has been formed, a Borstal Bill for juvenile offenders is on the anvil and legislative efforts are being made for bringing the U. P. jails in line with those in progressive countries.

In the administration of Justice, the U. P. Government have enunciated the policy of the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. They have further laid down new principles for the selection of Honorary Magistrate. A training in law, from now onwards, will supplement the civic sense, as opposed to political flaire, of those who are willing to serve. These important posts will be purged of their corrupt associations.

Problem Of The Peasant

The United Provinces have no doubt a greater number of cities than other provinces in India. Yet, the problem remains rural. The poverty of the rural population is intimately connected with the systems of land-tenure and revenue. Experts' Committees are deliberating upon fundamental changes, and their reports have not yet been shaped into a Bill. But in the meanwhile, the appalling conditions of the masses could no longer be ignored. The systems of property-relationship could not be changed in a second. So the interim legislation was devoted to stay proceedings for ejectment of tenants, for enhancement of rents and realisation of the same for periods prior to and including Kharif 1344 Fasli, and in the case of areas visited by hails, floods and other natural calamities for Rabi 1344 Fasli as well. It was subsequently found that certain landlords were appropriating new rents to previous arrears, and certain tenants were not paying their rents regularly. The members of the Government toured throughout the province explaining the situation to the tenantry and asking them to pay up and brought home to the landlords the evil consequences of evasion. The position of the Government was made clear by the Minister for Revenue, the Hon. Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, who in many important speeches deprecated coercive measures for the collection of rent and refused to countenance maligning in any form. Yet, important concessions have been given to deserving cases of landlords. Revenue legislation in the U. P. has therefore to be appreciated on the following grounds: (i) the finances of the province depend more upon revenue than on any other item, (ii) the measures are interim. (iii) basic property-relations cannot be changed without due enquiry and strict impartiality (iv) the stability of tenure has to be assured to the tenants.

A cognate subject is that of rural indebtedness. A representative Committee has just finished its labours. Pending its findings

(Continued On Page 45).

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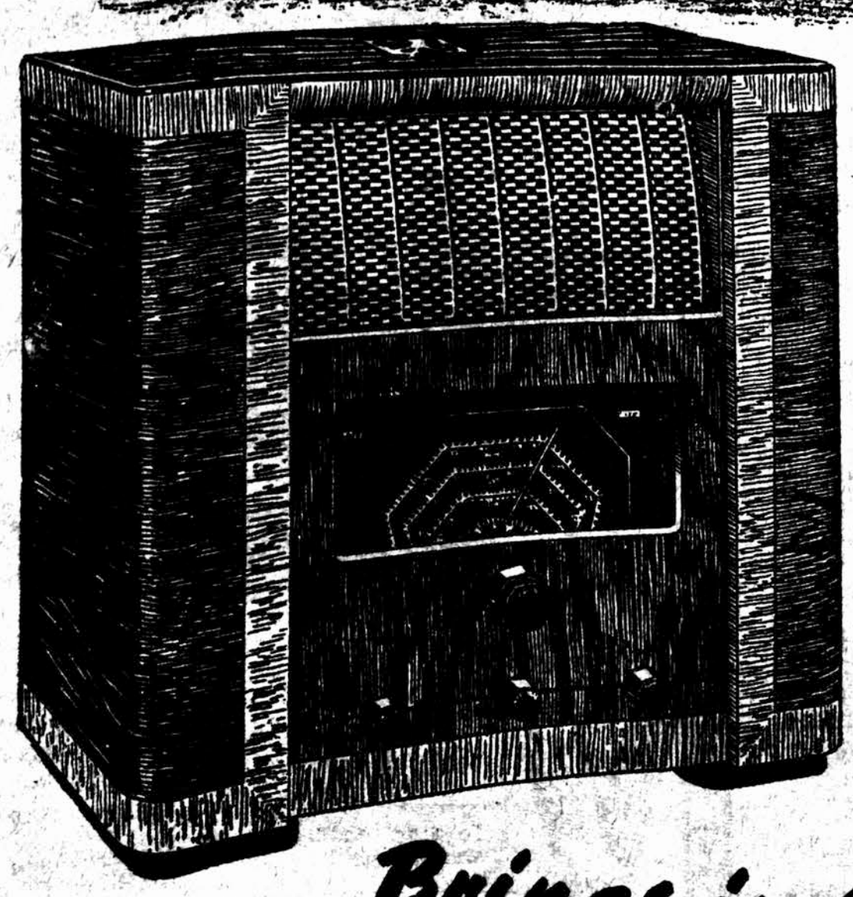

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MAHATMA ATTENDS SESSION: FACES BATTERY OF CAMERAS

Vithalnagar, Seething Mass Of Humanity

"Congress Is Entirely In The Right", Says Subhas In Extempore Speech

(Congress Special Service)

VITHALNAGAR, FEB. 19.

Welcome breeze wafting from the Tapti flowing by with soft murmur, crimson rays of setting sun lending enchanting view to the distant horizon, a big national Tri-colour fluttering in solemn grandeur from a huge flag staff in front, and a bust of President Patel in one of his characteristic poses as if watching with affection the glorious performance of his young friend at deathbed.—these provided a picturesque setting to the 51st session of the Indian National Congress, which met here this afternoon to hear the message of its youngest President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose.

ONE LAKH OF KISANS PRESENT

In order to implement the fundamental idea underlying Gandhiji's suggestion of having village sessions of the Congress, the Reception Committee had granted concession to peasant and Kisan visitors from the interior and taking advantage of this offer, nearly one lakh of them were present to-day.

Besides these, another lakh of delegates, visitors and Reception Committee members attended. The entire area was fitted with loud speakers and every word from the rostrum was distinctly audible from the farthest corner.

PRESIDENTIAL PROCESSION

Just at 5-30 p.m. the Presidential procession glided to the rostrum proceeded by a band party of volunteers. The procession was in the following order:—Chairman of the Reception Committee Durbar Gopal Das, and then in order of two Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Acharya Kripalani, Mr. Jayaramdas Daulatram and Mr. Shanker Rao Deo Mr. Narendra Deo and Mr. Achyut Patwardhan and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose last.

Mahatma Gandhi, in a car, came immediately after and went to the place where the procession ended. Lord Samuel who was present, was seen enthusiastically 'Kodaking' the huge human sea present in the enclosed natural amphitheatre.

Proceedings began with 'Bande Mataram" song. Over two lakhs of people, mostly from villages, were outside the pandal.

"Bande Mataram" song was sung by a party of girls from Bengal. The spell cast by this song was marvellous and it was broken only by equally soul-thrilling song of Rabindranath Tagore. As soon as "Bande Mataram" was set to the tune, the huge assembly rose silently as if it were one man. On the pedastal stood garlanded President Subhas Bose, having on his two sides such comrades as Mahatma Gandhi to his right and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to his left. The Chairman of the Reception Committee thereafter came to the rostrum and addressed the gathering over the microphone.

In pin-drop silence the gathering heard the Chairman welcome with rapt attention. His reference to Bengal's contribution towards the development of Indian nationhood in India and his compliments to Sjt. Subhas Bose were applauded.

President Bose then proceeded to the rostrum, and slowly mounted the stairs amidst vociferous cheers and cries of "Bande Mataram" and "Subhas Bose-ki Jai".

LEADERS ON THE DAIS

Prominent among those noticed on the dais included Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Sjt. Shanker Rao Deo, Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose, Acharya Kripalani, Sjt. Shri Krishna Sinha, Sjt. B. G. Kher, Sjt. K. M. Munshi, Sjt. T. Prakasham, Dr N B Khare, Sjt Jairamdas Doulatram, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Srimati Sarojini Naidu, Mr. R. K. Sidhwa, Sjt. Choitram Gidwani, Dr. Syed Mahomed, Acharya Narendra Deo, Sjt. Achyut Patwardhan, Sjt. Jai Prakash Narain, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Hutheesingh, Sjt. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, Sjt. Satyendranath Majumdar, Sjt. Devidas Gandhi, Prof. Indra, Lala Deshbandhu Gupta and Suresh Chandra Majumdar. The reverend old mother of President Bose was lustily cheered as she came and took her seat in the Women's Enclosure.

President Bose at first addressed the vast gathering in Hindi and then spoke a few words on the constitutional crisis in two provinces in English.

MINISTERIAL CRISIS

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, in an extempore speech, referring to the present political situation consequent on the Ministerial resignations in two Congress Provinces, in conclusion of his presidential address, which lasted 75 minutes, said:—

"Friends, there is one development which has occurred, during the last few days to which I should like to draw your attention

(Continued on Page 23)

VICEROY TO INVITE GANDHIJI

("CHRONICLE" SPECIAL)
HARIPURA, Feb. 19.

It is understood that Lord Lothian is insisting on a Gandhi-Viceroy meeting. In all probability Gandhiji might interview Lord Linlithgow at the latter's request and an amicable settlement of the ministerial deadlock will be brought about in all probability before the budget sessions in the provinces:

1,000 CAMERAS 'SHOOT' MAHATMA

VITHALNAGAR, Feb. 19.

Mahatma Gandhi at the request of the president, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose attended the opening session of the Congress. Gandhiji followed the presidential procession in a closed car and his arrival was marked by enthusiastic cheers and cries of "Mahatma Gandhiki jai" from one end of the amphitheatre to the other. Leaning on the shoulders of the president Mr. Bose, Mahatma Gandhi went up the platform on which the leaders were seated. The whole audience stood up to have a better view of Mahatma.

Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged the cheers with folded hands with his usual smile. And a thousand cameras clicked to catch that winning smile.—A. P.

MAHATMA UNDER KHADI UMBRELLA

The entire gathering rose as Mahatma Gandhi's frail form was sighted, climbing the steps of the huge platform, helped by Mr. Bose, the entire concourse rose to its feet as one man, and lustily cheered the Mahatma, and a battery of cameras clicked. Mahatma Gandhi's bright eyes beaming with pleasure and gratitude, as he slowly turned to the vast gathering and raised his hands in acknowledgement of vociferous cries of 'jais' from every side. Mahatma Gandhi returned the salutations of the leaders who bowed to him, as he walked up to the centre of the dais His seat was arranged under a khadi umbrella to shield him from the sun.

Satyamurti Wishes Success To Congress

MADRAS, Feb. 19.

Mr. Satyamurti has sent the following telegram to the Congress President: "Illness prevents my attending. Please accept and convey my apologies. Wish Congress complete success. Vandemataram."—A. P.

In Open Session

11 RESOLUTIONS PASSED

House Reassembles To-day At 5-30 p.m.

VITHALNAGAR, Feb. 19.
(By Trunk Telephone).

The 51st Session of the Indian National Congress commenced at 5-30 this evening and adjourned at 9-15, after adopting eleven resolutions including the resolution on Federation, moved by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, and the resolution on foreign policy and war danger moved by Acharya Kripalani.

Nine Resolutions were moved from the Chair. They included condolences on the death of Mrs. Swarooprani Nehru, Mrs. Parvati Devi, Sir Jagdish Bose, Mr. Manilal Kothari and Dr. Sarat Chatterjee; demand for the immediate release of Rani Guidallo of Assam; Indians overseas; Zanzibar; Ceylon; China; Palestine, Excluded Areas and Ajmere-Merwara.

The House re-assembles at 5-30 p.m. to-morrow when the Session is expected to terminate.

TWO LAKHS OF DELEGATES AND VISITORS

Nearly two lakhs of delegates and visitors attended to-day's Session. Mahatma Gandhi was present till 6-30 p.m.

The presidential address delivered by Mr. Subhas Bose took 75 minutes, in the course of which he referred to the ministerial resignation in Bihar and United Provinces. He asserted that the ministers were entirely right and the Governors entirely wrong.—

RESOLUTIONS FROM CHAIR

The following nine resolution were thereafter moved from the Chair and carried unanimously:

1. Condolence resolutions with the names of Harendra Munshi, who recently died in Dacca Jail while still on hunger-strike, and Sadashiv Rao of Karnatak added to the list already approved by the Subjects Committee.

2. Release of Rani Guidallo of Assam; (3) Indians overseas; (4) Zanzibar; (5) Ceylon; (6) China; (7) Palestine; (8) Excluded Areas; and (9) the retrocession of seve-

(Continued on Page 42)

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS (Page 24)

Flag Hoisting At Haripura (Page 27)

Working Committee Resolution (Page 44)

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Bhedwan House, Opposite Cumballa Hill Post Office, flat, two-rooms, kitchen. Rent Rs. 60. Apply New Book Co., Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road. 'Phone No. 26455. Airy two rooms tenements with water tap in Taraporewala Building, Gowalia Tank, Rent Rs. 26 upwards. Apply New Book Co., Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road. 'Phone 26455. Cumballa Hill, Sudama House, first floor, consisting of 7 bedrooms with attached bathroom. Also ground floor, 3 rooms, kitchen. Apply New Book Co., 190, Hornby Road. 'Phone 26455. (7971)

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Airy, Lighted Office Premises in Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road: Rent Rs. 40 to Rs. 250, also shops in Bastion Road Rs. 150. Apply New Book Co., on ground floor. 'Phone No. 26455. Empire Building, opposite Victoria Terminus, large and small office premises. Rent Rs. 25 upwards. Apply New Book Co., 190, Hornby Road. 'Phone No. 26455. Fravic House, opposite Marine Line Station, spacious show-room, admeasuring 2,500 square feet. Apply New Book Co., Kitab Mahal, 190, Hornby Road. 'Phone No. 26455. (7970)

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174. BOOKS

Wireless Diary 1938, Rupee One and New Stock of Radio Books, just received. Lakhani Book Depot, Girgaum, Bombay. (9856)

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Wanted Buyers of Nu-Gold Bangles, various designs available. Apply sharp. Free catalogue. National Jewellery Works, Navratnavilas, Matunga, Bombay 19. (9861)

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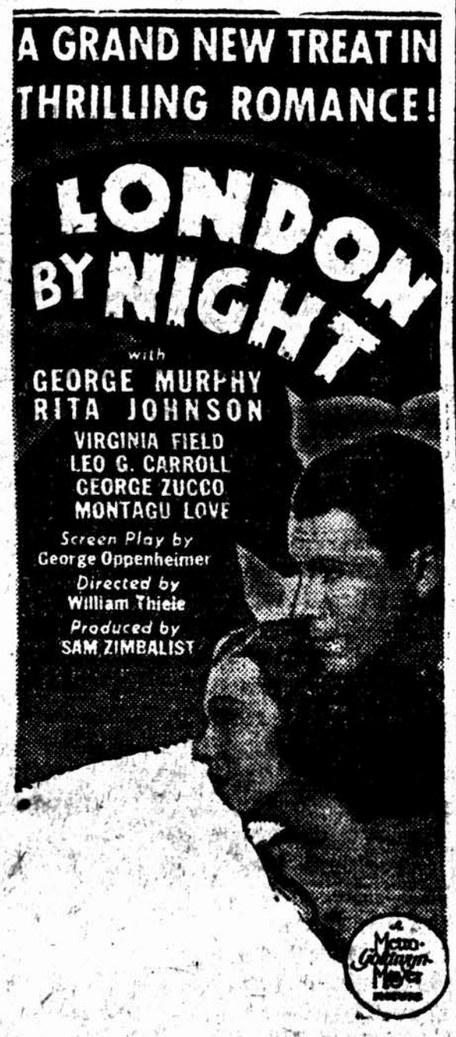

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SUNDAY MORNING SHOW: AT 10 A.M.

MARX BROS. in:

"A DAY AT THE RACES"

ALL GILT AND NO GOLD

Two Pathans In Custody On Charge Of Cheating Moghul

BOMBAY, Saturday.

Two Pathans of the district of Hazara were arrested yesterday by the Bombay C. I. D. on a charge of cheating. The arrested persons, Khanzaman Mirbaz and Pendah Khanzaman, wre placed to-day before the Chief Presidency Magistrate and directed to be released on a bail of Rs. 500 with one surety, the surety to deposit Rs. 250.

The police, in asking for a remand of the accused to custody, stated that the first man introduced the second accused to the Moghul stating that the second accused had a large amount of gold ornaments for disposal at a cheap rate. One necklace of gold was then handed over to the Moghul for testing. It was found to be of genuine gold. The complainant, however, became suspicious as it was offered for Rs. 80, which, he thought, was a ridiculous price for such a costly ornament. He then informed the police.

The police laid a trap for the arrest of the accused, who had made an appointment with the complainant. The latter was asked to bring at least Rs. 200. At the appointed time, the police were lying in wait but the accused were unaware of their presence. The accused are alleged to have given the complainant a bundle of ornaments and received payments for the same. As soon as the transaction was complete the police appeared on the scene and arrested the accused. The ornaments were found to be of brass and gilt.

PRESIDENCY HARD COURT CHAMPIONSHIPS

Tew And Mytton Win Doubles Title

The men's doubles title of the Bombay Presidency Hard Court Championships went to T. E. Tew and G. L. Mytton who beat B. T. Blake and H. L. Marshall in the final in straight sets of (6—3) and (6—2).

The following are the complete results of the matches played on Saturday:—

Miss L. Woodbridge and H. L. Marshall beat Miss S. Mehta and E. Padamji, 6—4, 6—1. B. T. Blake beat Y. R. Savur, 6—2, 6—2.

Mrs. Edney and B. T. Blake beat Miss L. Woodbridge and H. L. Marshall 6—3, 6—2. E. V. Bobb beat H. L. Marshall 6—1, 6—3.

Mrs. Footit and J. M. Mehta beat Mrs. Radcliffe-Genge and N. Rama Rau, 9—7, 6—2.

Mis Leela Row beat Miss L. Woodbridge 6—4, 6—2.

Miss M. P. Dubash beat Mrs. J. E. Tew, 2—6, 6—4, 6—3.

J. E. Tew and G. L. Mytton beat J. Charanjiva and E. V. Bobb, 10—8, 7—9, 6—3.

J. E. Tew and Mytton beat B. T. Blake and H. L. Marshall, 6—3, 6—2.

To-day's Finals

Court Nos. 1, at 3-30 p.m. (s.t.) sharp

Men's Singles Final:—

B. T. Blake V/s. E. V. Boob.

followed by

Mixed Doubles Final:—

Mrs. Footit and J. M. Mehta V/s Mrs. Edney and B. T. Blake.

Court No. 2, at 3-30 p.m. (s.t.) sharp.

Ladies' Singles Final:—

Miss M. P. Dubash V/s Miss Leela Row, followed by

Ladies Doubles Final:—

Miss M. P. Dubash and Mrs. Edney V/s Footit and Miss L. Woodbridge.

PROFESSIONAL FINAL.

Tennis Court No. 1, at 3 p.m. (s.t.)

Sarjoo Pershad (Bombay Gymkhana, Ltd., Bombay) V/s Murad Khan (Willingdon Club, Ltd., Bombay).

MAN ARRESTED ON STABBING CHARGE

BOMBAY, Saturday.

Vishwaram Babaji was arrested yesterday afternoon on a charge of assault and was brought before the Presidency Magistrate, Mazagaon, to-day.

It is stated that Antoo Bhawoo was stabbed on his back, along with one Balia Pikdia, by the accused on the 6th instant since when the said accused was absconding. He was however traced yesterday and was remanded to police custody till the 5th of March.

Challenge To Imperialism To Be Faced

(Continued from Page 21)

and, in regard to which, I should like to say a few words.

CONGRESS IN THE RIGHT.

"I shall not go over all facts with regard to the crisis in the United Provinces and Bihar, with which you are all familiar. I shall only say this: On this question of crisis, the Congress is entirely in the right. The Governor-General and Governors are entirely in the wrong. (cheers.)

"You will remember that before the Congress Ministers took office they were given definite assurances that, there would be no interference in their day-to-day administration. The recent action of the Governor-General and at his instance of the Governors of these two provinces constitutes a violation of that assurance What is more, section 126 (5) of the Government of India Act which has been quoted by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Governor-General in support of his stand is in my personal judgment, and I believe in your judgment as well, is based on entire misconception of that section of the Government of India Act" (cheers).

Mr. Subhas Bose added:—

"It is for Ministers and for Ministers alone to assume the fullest responsibility for law and order. When the Congress Cabinets of the United Provinces and Bihar were fully prepared to accept responsibility for law and order to release the political prisoners, surely neither the Governor-General nor the Governors had any right to interfere (loud cheers).

STRENGTHENING CONGRESS.

I shall not go into this question at length. You will have before you the resolution of the Congress Working Committee on this question . I shall add only one word in support of what the working Committee has told you. It is this. The recent action of the Congress Ministries in these two provinces has made it perfectly clear that our Ministers are there to strengthen Congress organisations throughout the country. They are not there for the sake of office (prolonged cheers)

Not only is that the attitude of our ministers. But it is the attitude of the Working Committee. It is the attitude of the All-India Congress Committee and I believe that is the attitude of every Congressman in the country. There can therefore be absolutely no apprehension that the Working Committee will at any moment either now or in future show weakness in that attitude in facing the challenge of British Imperialism (cheers).

GIVE FULLEST SUPPORT.

I would therefore beg of you to give fullest support to the lead the Working Committee has decided to give you and lead which it will give you in future.

At this stage Mahatma Gandhi left the Congress pandal by car along with Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.—

FRATERNAL GREETINGS.

After the President's extempore English speech on the Ministerial crisis was over, four fraternal delegates to the Haripura Congress from overseas including Mr. E. Samarkoti, representing Lanka Samya Samaj Mr. Samsudd'n of Kenyal, Indian Association and Mr. Tamhankar representing the Friends of India Society, London, extended fraternal greetings on behalf of their respective organisations.

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary, then read out messages of goodwill sent by distinguished ex-Presidents of the Congress including Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar and Babu Rajendra Prasad and also from prominent individuals like Mr. Shiva Prasad Gupta, Mr. S. Satyamurthi, Mr. Hardayal Nag, the Mayor of Madras and the Consul General of China in India.

MESSAGES OF GOODWILL.

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, Secretary of the Foreign Department of the A.I.C.C. also read out messages of goodwill received from various institutions in foreign countries who are sympathetically disposed towards India's struggle for independence including the International Peace Campaign Society in Geneva, a public meeting held in Trafalgar Square, London attended by ten thousand men, women representing England, China, India and other countries, Women's International League, Mr. Rash Behari Bose, President of the Indian National Committee, Japan and the Friends of India, Norway and the American League of India in New York.—United Press.

"LOT OF TIME SPENT IN INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSIONS

Pandit Pant's Reply To Government Communique

A Haripura messags says:—

Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant has issued a statement in connection with the Communique issued by the Secretary to the Governor of U. P. regarding the release of political prisoners. During the course of the statement he refers to the policy of slow release resorted to by the Governors and adds that a lot of valuable time of the Ministers has been taken up by "interminable and inconclusive discussions."

He holds that if all the prisoners had been released at the very outset there would not have been any agitation. He contradicts the statement of the Governor's Secretary by saying that the speeches referred to by the Secretary were not made by released Kakori prisoners, but by one who was discharged by the Punjab Government after serving out his term of 21 years' imprisonment.

ALL EYES ON HARIPURA

Greetings From Indians In America

VITHALNAGAR, Feb. 19.

The Indian residents of the United States of America have sent the following message of greetings to the President of the Haripura Congress:—

"Eyes of the world are turned to the little village of Haripura. Your deliberations, resolutions and projected programme for action will have profound effect upon the future, not only of the Motherland, not only of Asia,, but of the very cause of democracy itself.

"The world is profoundly appreciative of the significance of Mahatma Gandhi's prophetic leadership of India in this era of strike and turmoil. Against the philosophy of violence dominant in the West and the westernised parts of the orient, India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi has been vindicating the efficacy of Ahimsa and the triumph of soul-force.

"May the present session of the Congress mark another milestone in India's onward march to swaraj to the internal autonomy and external equality."

The American leaders in politics, journalism education and religion have also sent their greetings to the Haripura Congress, who include men like Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, Dean of the American Liberals, Mr. Norman Thomas, head of the Socialist Party in America, Mr. Roger Baldwin, Director of All American Civil Liberties Union, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Minister of the Community Church of the New York and Editor of "Unity" and others. —United Press.

MESSAGES FROM LEADERS

(Congress Special)

VITHALNAGAR. (Haripura) Feb. 19.

The following messages were read by the General Secretary at the open session. Babu Rajendra Prasad in his message says: "I am more deeply distressed and disappointed than I can explain to tell you that I am unable to be with you at the Congress Session which is going to be a momentous one I had hoped almost against hope. and doctors had been encouraging that hope that it might be possible after all for me to come to Haripura. But I have had several relapses one after the other—the last one being last night—and it is now perfectly clear that I cannot come. I am sure the proceedings will pass off successfully and the session will give fresh impetus to struggle for Swaraj in which the country is engaged."

MALAVIYA PRESENT IN SPIRIT

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his message states:—"My greetings to Congress and all fellow workers assembled at Haripura. Being under treatment I regret I am unable to attend this great and important session, but I will be with you all in spirit and shall be praying for your success. I have no doubt that Congress will best advice country how to effectively combat federation which has been laid down by Parliament and to impress upon Great Britain that for peace and friendship between India and England. India must cease to be dependency and become a free and independent country with a constitution framed by her own people and calculated to enable her to promote her own needs and interests."

Dust Storm Plays Havoc At Vithalnagar

HARIPURA, Feb. 19.

The dust-storm continued even to-day and huts of many leaders and delegates suffered in consequence. Electric wires are reported to have snapped in many places and the electricians of Vithalnagar were kept busy repairing them and preventing damage and accident. A timely warning was also broadcast. Hawkers of sweets and foodstuffs were worst sufferers.

Despite the dust and cold visitors in thousands poured into the Congress camps and by evening every inch of the space in Vithalnagar was one solid mass of humanity moving towards the pandal where an open session was held.—A. P. Special.

Latest Cables

ADVICE OF "GUARDIAN"

LONDON, Feb. 19.

The "Manchester Guardian" says that it has become unfortunately too easy to take a pessimistic view of any breakdown in the relations between the British authorities and the Congress, but it still may be said that a majority of the Congress Party and the British in India regret the breakdown. On the other hand there can be little doubt that if the situation is left to develop without intervention by Government, nothing but harm can result. The paper suggests that Gandhiji should act as an intermediary between the Congress and the Viceroy, and as he has already met the present Viceroy, and both men must regret the deadlock, nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of an interview between them.—Reuter.

CENTRAL EUROPEAN SITUATION

PARIS, Feb. 19.

The French Ambassador in London received definite instructions yesterday concerning the action which the French Government proposes should be taken by France and England regarding the Central European situation, announces the Paris Press, this morning.

The "Echo De Paris" states that the instructions provide for a Franco-British demarche in Berlin accompanied by a declaration in which the two Governments should intimate that they would be unable to accept a violation of international treaties in Central Europe.—Reuter.

NATIONALISTS' VICTORY.

SARAGOSSA, Feb. 19.

The Nationalist headquarters claim that as a result of two days' heavy fighting they have brought their troops within five miles northwest of Teruel, with the capture of two positions of considerable importance. General Franco's troops are now stated to dominate the positions of Santabarbara and Mansuete. which in turn command Teruel. The attack started with heavy artillery and aerial bombardment followed an infantry attack. General Franco's headquarters state that the Republicans, particularly the Lincoln Battalion of the International Brigade, offered the most tenacious resistance, holding up the advance by at least three hours. The Republican losses are estimated over a thousand dead or abandoned on the battle-field. 875 prisoners were taken. Bayonets and hand-grenades were freely used in the final assault.—Reuter.

CHINESE BLOW UP BRIDGES.

HANKOW, Feb. 19.

One of the most famous bridges in China, the three-miles-long Peiping-Hankow railway bridge across the Yellow River was blown up by the Chinese in an attempt to check the Japanese advance. The Chinese forces defending the Railway north of the river are now hard pressed and their situation is reported to be considerably more precarious.—Reuter.

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NO REST TILL INDIA IS FREE

SUBHAS INDICTS FEDERAL SCHEME

Nation Will Resist It With Resort To Direct Action

CLARION CALL FOR UNITED STAND

Minorities Need Have No Fear

The Presidential Address of Babu Subhas Chandra Bose to the 51st Session of Indian National Congress at Haripura is a comprehensive survey of India's struggle for Independence and its treatment of the many and complex problems, the conflict of ideologies, the immediate tasks and supreme needs, vests it with importance of a great political document which compels close perusal.

CALL FOR UNITED STAND

"We are faced with a serious situation to-day. Inside the Congress there are differences between the Right and the Left which it will be futile to ignore. Outside there is the challenge of British Imperialism. What shall we do in this crisis?" asks the President and answers the query himself:

"Need I say that we have to stand four-square against all the storms that may beset our path and be impervious to all the designs that our rulers may employ? The Congress to-day is the one supreme organ of mass struggle. It may have its Right 'bloc' and its Left—but it is the common platform for all anti-imperialist organisations striving for Indian emancipation. Let us, therefore, rally the whole country under the banner of the Indian National Congress."

THOSE FEET OF CLAY

Babu Subhas Bose devotes great attention to the interplay of world politics and the position the British Empire has come to occupy as a consequence. After a masterly analysis of the situation and the contradictions and inconsistencies of British foreign policy, he comes to the conclusion that "the clay feet of a gigantic empire now stands exposed as it has never been before." But "amid this interplay of world forces India emerges much stronger than she has ever been before."

MINORITY PROBLEM

Great stress is laid on the solution of the minority problem. After quoting 'in extenso' the Calcutta resolution of the A.I.C.C. on the question, Babu Subhas Bose says: "The Congress stands for the political and economic rights of the Indian people as a whole. If it succeeds in executing the programme the Minority Communities would be benefited as much as any other section of the Indian population.

"There remains but one question which may be a source of anxiety to the minorities, viz., religion and that aspect of culture which is based on religion. On this the Congress policy is one of live and let live,—a policy of complete non-interference in matters of conscience, religion and culture....The Muslims have nothing, therefore, to fear in the event of India winning her freedom—on the contrary they have everything to gain."

TECHNIQUE AND TACTICS

Subhas Babu then deals with the technique and tactics of the struggle for independence.

"In our struggle for independence", he says, "we may adopt either of two alternatives. We may continue our fight until we have our full freedom and in the meantime decline to use any power that we may capture while on the march. We may, on the other hand go on consolidating our position while we continue our struggle...In either case, the ultimate stage in our progress will be the severance of the British connection."

FIGHT FEDERATION

The Congress President then makes a searching analysis of the proposed Federal Scheme and exposes it to a scathing indictment. "We have to fight the Federation by all legitimate and peaceful means—not merely along constitutional lines—and in the last resort, we may have to resort to mass civil disobedience which is the ultimate sanction we have in our hands. There can be little doubt that in the event of such a campaign being started in the future, the movement will not be confined to British India but will spread among the States' Subjects.

Dealing with Kisan and Labour organisations vis-a-vis the Congress, President Bose favours collective affiliation in order to bring all progressive and anti-imperialist organisations under the influence and control of the Congress.

INDIA NEEDS MAHATMA

President Bose concludes: "All India fervently hopes and prays that Mahatma Gandhi may be spared to our nation for many many years to come. India cannot afford to lose him and certainly not at this hour. We need him to keep our people united. We need him to keep our struggle free from bitterness and hatred. We need him for the cause of Indian Independence. What is more—we need him for the cause of humanity. Ours is a struggle not only against British Imperialism—but against World Imperialism as well, of which the former is the key-stone. We are, therefore, not fighting for the cause of India alone, but of humanity as well. India freed means HUMANITY saved."

CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The following is the full text of Babu Subhas Chandra Bose's presidential address:—

I am deeply sensible of the honour you have done me by electing me as the President of the Indian National Congress for the coming year. I am not so presumptuous as to think for one moment that I am in any way worthy of that great honour.

I regard it as a mark of your generosity and as a tribute to the youths of our country, but for whose cumulative contribution to our national struggle, we would not be where we are to-day. It is with a sense of fear and trepidation that I mount the tribune which has hitherto been graced by the most illustrious sons and daughters of our 'motherland'. Conscious as I am of my numerous limitations, I can only hope and pray that with your sympathy and support I may be able in some small measure to do justice to the high office which you have called upon me to fill.

Tribute To Departed

At the outset, may I voice your feelings in placing on record our profound grief at the death of Shrimati Swaruprani Nehru, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose and Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterji. Shrimati Swaruprani Nehru was to us not merely the worthy consort of Pandit Motilal and the revered mother of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Her suffering, sacrifice and service in the cause of India's freedom were such as any individual could feel proud of. As compatriots we mourn her death and our hearts go out in sympathy to Pandit Nehru and other members of the bereaved family.

To Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose India will always remain beholden for being the first to secure her an honoured place in the modern scientific world. A nationalist to the core of his heart, Sir Jagadish gave his life not merely to science, but to India as well India knows it and is grateful for it. We convey our heartfelt sympathy to Lady Bose.

Through the untimely death of Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterji, India has lost one of the brightest stars in her literary firmament. Though his name has been for years a household word in Bengal, he is not less known in the literary world of India. But if Sarat Babu was great as a literateur, he was perhaps greater as a patriot. The Congress in Bengal is distinctly poorer to-day because of his death. We send our sincerest condolence to the members of his family.

Victims Of Repression

Before I proceed further I should like to bow my head in homage to the memory of those who have laid down their lives in the service of the country since the Congress met last year at Faizpur. I should mention especially those who died in prison or in internment or soon after release from internment.

I should refer in particular to Syt. Harendra Munshi, a political prisoner in the Dacca Central Jail, who laid down his life the other day as a result of hunger-strike. My feelings are still too lacerated to permit me to say much on this subject.

I shall only ask you if there is not something rotten in the state of Denmark that such bright and promising souls as Jatin Das, Sardar Mahabir Singh, Ramkrishna Nama Das, Mohit Mohan Maitra, Harendra Munshi and others should feel the urge not to live life but to end it?

When we take a bird's eye-view

(Continued on Page 25.)

Babu Subhas Chandra Bose, wearing the badge of the President of the Indian National Congress

Clay Feet Of British Empire

(Continued from Page 24.)

of the entire panorama of human history, the first thing that strikes us is the rise and fall of empires. In the East as well as in the West, empires have invariably gone through a process of expansion and after reaching the zenith of prosperity have gradually shrunk into insignificance and sometimes death. The Roman Empire of the ancient times and the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian empires of the modern period are striking examples of this law.

The empires in India—the Maurya, Gupta and the Moghul empires—are no exception to this rule.

In the face of these objective facts of history, can any one be so bold as to maintain that there is in store a different fate for the British Empire? That Empire stands to-day at one of the cross-roads of history.

It will either go the way of other empires or it must transform itself into a federation of free nations. Either course is open to it.

The Czarist empire collapsed in 1917 but out of its debris sprang the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There is still time for Great Britain to take a leaf out of Russian history. Will she do so?

Hybrid Phenomenon

The British Empire is a hybrid phenomenon in politics. It is a peculiar combination of self-governing countries, partially self-governing dependencies and autocratically governed colonies. Constitutional device and human ingenuity may bolster up this combination for a while, but not for ever.

If the internal incongruities are not removed in good time, then quite apart from external pressure, the empire is sure to break down under its own strain. But can the British Empire transform itself into a federation of free nations with one bold sweep? It is for the British people to answer this question.

One thing, however, is certain. This transformation will be possible only if the British people become free in their own homes—only if Great Britain becomes a socialist state.

THERE IS AN INSEPARABLE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE CAPITALIST RULING CLASSES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE COLONIES ABROAD. AS LENIN POINTED OUT LONG AGO, "REACTION IN GREAT BRITAIN IS STRENGTHENED AND FED BY THE ENSLAVEMENT OF A NUMBER OF NATIONS."

THE BRITISH ARISTOCRACY AND BOURGEOISIE EXIST PRIMARILY BECAUSE THERE ARE COLONIES AND OVERSEAS DEPENDENCIES TO EXPLOIT.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE LATTER WILL UNDOUBTEDLY STRIKE AT THE VERY EXISTENCE OF THE CAPITALIST RULING CLASSES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND PRECIPITATE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOCIALIST REGIME IN THAT COUNTRY.

It should therefore be clear that a Socialist order in Great Britain is impossible of achievement without the liquidation of colonialism and that we who are fighting for the political freedom of India and other enslaved countries of the British Empire are incidentally fighting for the economic emancipation of the British People as well.

Divide And Rule

It is a well-known truism that every empire is based on the policy of divide and rule. But I doubt if any empire in the world has practised this policy so skilfully, systematically and ruthlessly as Great Britain. In accordance with this policy, before power was handed over to the Irish people, Ulster was separated from the rest of Ireland. Similarly, before any power is handed over to the Palestinians, the Jews will be separated from the Arabs. An internal partition is necessary in order to neutralise the transference of power.

The same principle of partition appears in a different form in the new Indian Constitution. Here we find an attempt to separate the different communities and put them into watertight compartments. And in the Federal scheme there is a juxtaposition of autocratic Princes and democratically elected representatives from British India.

IF THE NEW CONSTITUTION IS FINALLY REJECTED, WHETHER OWING TO THE OPPOSITION OF BRITISH INDIA OR OWING TO THE REFUSAL OF THE PRINCES TO JOINING IT, I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT BRITISH INGENUITY WILL SEEK SOME OTHER CONSTITUTIONAL DEVICE FOR PARTITIONING INDIA AND THEREBY NEUTRALISING THE TRANSFERENCE OF POWER TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE. THEREFORE, ANY CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA WHICH EMANATES FROM WHITEHALL MUST BE EXAMINED WITH THE UTMOST CARE AND CAUTION.

Meshes Of Dualism

The policy of divide and rule, though it has its obvious advantages, is by no means an unmixed blessing for the ruling power. As a matter of fact it creates new problems and new embarrassments.

Great Britain seems to be caught in the meshes of her own political dualism resulting from her policy of divide and rule. Will she please the Muslim or the Hindu in India? Will she favour the Arab or the Jew in Palestine—the Arab or the Kurd in Iraq? Will she side with the King or the Wafd in Egypt?

The same dualism is visible outside the empire. In the case of Spain, British politicians are torn between such alternatives as Franco and the lawful Government—and in the wider field of European politics between France and Germany. The contradictions and inconsistencies in Britain's foreign policy are the direct outcome of the heterogeneous composition of her Empire. The British Cabinet has to please the Jews because she cannot ignore Jewish high finance. On the other hand, the India Office and Foreign Office have to placate the Arabs because of Imperial interests in the Near East and in India.

The only means whereby Great Britain can free herself from such contradictions and inconsistencies is by transforming the Empire into a federation of free nations. If she could do that, she would be performing a miracle in history. But if she fails, she must reconcile herself to the gradual dismemberment of a vast empire where the sun is supposed not to set.

Let not the lesson of the Austro-Hungarian Empire be lost on the British people.

Empire's Plight

The British Empire at the present moment is suffering from strain at a number of points. Within the Empire on the extreme West there is Ireland and on the extreme East, India. In the middle lies Palestine with the adjoining countries of Egypt and Iraq. Outside the empire there is the pressure exerted by Italy in the Mediterranean and Japan in the Far East, both of these countries being militant, aggressive and imperialist.

Against this background of unrest stands Soviet Russia whose very existence strikes terror into the hearts of the ruling classes in every Imperialist state. How long can the British Empire withstand the cumulative effect of this pressure and strain?

TO-DAY, BRITAIN CAN HARDLY CALL HERSELF "THE MISTRESS OF THE SEAS", HER PHENOMENAL RISE IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES WAS THE RESULT OF HER SEA POWER. HER DECLINE AS AN EMPIRE IN THE 20TH CENTURY WILL BE THE OUTCOME OF THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW FACTOR IN THE WORLD-HISTORY—AIR FORCE.

It was due to this new factor, Air Force, that an impudent Italy could successfully challenge a fully mobilised British Navy in the Mediterranean. Britain can rearm on land, sea and air up to the utmost limit. Battleships may still stand up to bombing from the air, but air force as a powerful element in modern warfare has come to stay.

Distances have been obliterated and despite all anti-air-craft defences, London lies at the mercy of any bombing squadron from a continental centre. In short, air force has revolutionised modern warfare, destroyed the insularity of Great Britain and rudely disturbed the balance of power in world-politics. The clay feet of a gigantic empire now stands exposed as it has never been before.

India's Opportunity

Amid this interplay of world forces India emerges much stronger than she has ever been before. Ours is a vast country with a population of 350 millions. Our vastness in area and in population has hitherto been a source of weakness. It is to-day a source of strength if we can only stand united and boldly face our rulers.

From the standpoint of Indian unity the first thing to remember is that the division between British India and the Indian States is an entirely artificial one. India is one and the hopes and aspirations of the people of British India and of the Indian States are identical.

OUR GOAL IS THAT OF AN INDEPENDENT INDIA AND IN MY VIEW THAT GOAL CAN BE ATTAINED ONLY THROUGH A FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN WHICH THE PROVINCES AND THE STATES WILL BE WILLING PARTNERS.

The Congress has, time and again, offered its sympathy and moral support to the movement carried on by the States' subjects for the establishment of democratic government in what is known as Indian India. It may be that at this moment our hands are so full that the Congress is not in a position to do more for our compatriots in the States.

But even to-day there is nothing to prevent individual Congressmen from actively espousing the cause of the States' subjects and participating in their struggle.

There are people in the Congress like myself who would like to see the Congress participating more actively in the movement of the States' subjects. I personally hope that in the near future it will be possible for the Indian National Congress to take a forward step and offer a helping hand to our fellow-fighters in the States. Let us not forget that they need our sympathy and our help.

Problem Of Minorities

Talking of Indian unity the next thing that strikes us is the problem of the minorities. The Congress has from time to time declared its policy on this question. The latest authoritative pronouncement made by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting in Calcutta in October 1937, runs thus:

"The Congress has solemnly and repeatedly declared its policy in regard to the rights of the minorities in India and has stated that it considers it its duty to protect these rights and ensure the widest possible scope for the development of these minorities and their participation in the fullest measure in the political, economic and cultural life of the nation. The objective of the Congress is an independent and united India where no class or group or majority or minority may exploit another to its own advantage, and where all the elements in the nation may co-operate together for the common good and the advancement of the people of India. This objective of unity and mutual co-operation in a common freedom does not mean the suppression in any way of the rich variety and cultural diversity of Indian life, which have to be preserved in order to give freedom and opportunity to the individual as well as to each group to develop unhindered according to its capacity and inclination.

"In view, however, of attempts having been made to misinterpret the Congress policy in this regard, the All-India Congress Committee desire to reiterate this policy. The Congress has included in its resolution on Fundamental Rights that

(i) Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, for a purpose not opposed to law or morality.

(ii) Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality.

(iii) The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected.

(iv) All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex.

(v) No disability attaches to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling.

(vi) All citizens have equal rights and duties in regard to wells, tanks, roads, schools and places of public resort, maintained out of State, or local funds, or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public.

(vii) The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions.

(viii) The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

(ix) Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in any part thereof, to acquire property and to follow any trade or calling, and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of India.

"These clauses of the Fundamental Rights resolution make it clear that there should be no interference in matters of conscience, religion, or culture, and a minority is entitled to keep its personal law without any change in this respect being imposed by the majority.

"The position of the Congress in regard to the Communal decision has been repeatedly made

(Continued on Page 26.)

FIVE YEARS' PLAN FOR INDIA

clear in Congress resolutions and finally in the Election Manifesto issued last year. The Congress is opposed to this decision as it is anti-national, anti-democratic and is a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian unity. Nevertheless the Congress has declared that a change in or supersession of the Communal Decision should only be brought about by the mutual agreement of the parties concerned. The Congress has always welcomed and is prepared to take advantage of any opportunity to bring about such a change by mutual agreement.

"In all matters affecting the minorities in India, the Congress wishes to proceed by their co-operation and through their goodwill in a common undertaking and for the realization of a common aim which is the freedom and betterment of all the people of India."

Common Interests

The time is opportune for renewing our efforts for the final solution of this problem I believe I am voicing the feelings of all Congressmen when I say that we are eager to do our very best to arrive at an agreed solution, consistent with the fundamental principles of nationalism.

It is unnecessary for me to go into details as to the lines on which a solution should take place. Much useful ground has already been covered in past conferences and conversations.

I shall merely add that only by emphasising our common interests, economic and political, can we cut across communal divisions and dissensions. A policy of 'live and let live' in matters religious and an understanding in matters economic and political should be our objective.

Though the Muslim problem looms large whenever we think of the question of the minorities and though we are anxious finally to settle this problem, I must say that the Congress is equally desirous of doing justice to the other minorities and especially the so-called depressed classes whose number is a very large one.

I would put it to the members of the minority communities in India to consider dispassionately if they have anything to fear when the Congress programme is put into operation.

THE CONGRESS STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE AS A WHOLE. IF IT SUCCEEDS IN EXECUTING ITS PROGRAMME, THE MINORITY COMMUNITIES WOULD BE BENEFITTED AS MUCH AS ANY OTHER SECTION OF THE INDIAN POPULATION.

Moreover, if after the capture of political power, national reconstruction takes place on socialistic lines as I have no doubt it will—it is the "have-nots" who will benefit at the expense of the "haves" and the Indian masses have to be classified among the "have-nots".

Religious Neutrality

There remains but one question which may be a source of anxiety to the minorities, viz., religion and that aspect of culture that is based on religion. On this question the Congress policy is one of 'live and let live'—a policy of complete non-interference in matters of conscience, religion and culture as well as cultural autonomy for the different linguistic areas.

The Muslims have, therefore, nothing to fear in the event of India winning her freedom—on the contrary they have everything to gain.

So far as the religious and social disabilities of the so-called

(Continued from Page 25.)

depressed classes are concerned, it is well-known that during the last 17 years the Congress has left no stone unturned in the effort to remove them, and I have no doubt that the day is not far off when such disabilities will be a thing of the past.

Road To Independence

I shall now proceed to consider the method which the Congress should pursue in the years to come as well as its role in the national struggle. I believe more than ever that the method should be "satyagraha" or non-violent non-co-operation in the widest sense of the term, including civil disobedience.

It would not be correct to call our method passive resistance. "Satyagraha" as I understand it, is not merely passive resistance but active resistance as well, though that activity must be of a non-violent character. It is necessary to remind our countrymen that satyagraha or non-violent non-co-operation may have to be resorted to again.

The acceptance of office in the provinces as an experimental measure should not lead us to think that our future activity is to be confined within the limits of strict constitutionalism.

There is every possibility that a determined opposition to the forcible inauguration of federation may land us in another big campaign of civil disobedience.

Two Alternatives

In our struggle for independence we may adopt either of two alternatives. We may continue our fight until we have our full freedom and in the meantime decline to use any power that we may capture while on the march. We may, on the other hand, go on consolidating our position while we continue our struggle for Purna Swaraj or complete independence.

From the point of view of principle, both the alternatives are equally acceptable and 'a priori' considerations need not worry us. But we should consider very carefully at every stage as to which alternative would be more conducive to our national advancement. In either case the ULTIMATE STAGE IN OUR PROGRESS WILL BE THE SEVERANCE OF THE BRITISH CONNECTION. When that severance takes place and there is no trace left of British domination. we shall be in a position to determine our future relations with Great Britain through a treaty of alliance voluntarily entered into by both parties.

What our future relations with Great Britain will or should be, it is too early to say. That will depend to a large extent on the attitude of the British people themselves. On this point I have been greatly impressed by the attitude of President de Valera. Like the President of Eire, I should also say that we have no enmity towards the British people. We are fighting Great Britain and we want the fullest liberty to determine our future relations with her. But once we have real self-determination, there is no reason why we should not enter into the most cordial relations with the British people.

Lack Of Clarity

I am afraid there is a lack of clarity in the minds of many Congressmen as to the role of the Congress in the history of our national struggle.

I know that there are friends who think that after freedom is won the Congress party, having achieved its objective, should wither away. Such a conception is entirely erroneous. The party that wins freedom for India should be also the party that will put into effect the entire programme of post-war reconstruction. Only those who have won power can handle it properly.

If other people are pitchforked into seats of power which they were not responsible for capturing, they will lack that strength, confidence and idealism which is indispensable for revolutionary reconstruction. It is this which accounts for the difference in the record of the Congress and non-Congress ministries in the very narrow sphere of provincial autonomy.

No, there can be no question of the Congress party withering away after political freedom is won. On the contrary the party will have to take over power, assume responsibility for administration and put through its programme of reconstruction. Only then will it fulfil its role. If it were forcibly to liquidate itself, chaos would follow.

Looking at post-war Europe we find that only in those countries has there been orderly and continuous progress where the party which seized power undertook the work of reconstruction.

I KNOW THAT IT WILL BE ARGUED THAT THE CONTINUANCE OF A PARTY IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, STANDING BEHIND THE STATE, WILL CONVERT THAT STATE INTO A TOTALITARIAN ONE; BUT I CANNOT ADMIT THE CHARGE. THE STATE WILL POSSIBLY BECOME A TOTALITARIAN ONE, IF THERE BE ONLY ONE PARTY AS IN COUNTRIES LIKE RUSSIA, GERMANY AND ITALY. BUT THERE IS NO REASON WHY OTHER PARTIES SHOULD BE BANNED.

Moreover, the party itself will have a democratic basis, unlike for instance the Nazi Party which is based on the "Leader principle."

The existence of more than one party and the democratic basis of the Congress Party will prevent the future Indian State becoming a totalitarian one. Further, the democratic basis of the party will ensure that leaders are not thrust upon the people from above, but are elected from below.

Reconstruction Plans

Though it may be somewhat premature to give a detailed plan of reconstruction, we might as well consider some of the principles according to which our future social reconstruction should take place. I have no doubt in my mind that our chief national problems relating to the eradication of poverty, illiteracy and disease and to scientific production and distribution can be effectively tackled only along socialistic lines.

THE VERY FIRST THING WHICH OUR FUTURE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO DO WOULD BE TO SET UP A COMMISSION FOR DRAWING UP A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF RECONSTRUCTION. THIS PLAN WILL HAVE TWO PARTS—AN IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME AND A LONG-PERIOD PROGRAMME.

IN DRAWING UP THE FIRST PART, THE IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE KEPT IN VIEW WILL BE THREEFOLD—FIRSTLY, TO PREPARE THE COUNTRY FOR SELF-SACRIFICE; SECONDLY, TO UNIFY INDIA; AND THIRDLY, TO GIVE SCOPE FOR LOCAL AND CULTURAL AUTONOMY.

The second and third objectives may appear to be contradictory but they are not really so. Whatever political talent or genius we may possess as a people will have to be used in reconciling these two objectives. We shall have to unify the country so that we may be able to hold India against any foreign invasion.

While unifying the country through a strong Central Government, we shall have to put all the minority communities as well as the provinces at their ease by allowing them a large measure of autonomy in cultural as well as governmental affairs.

Especial efforts will be needed to keep our people together when the load of foreign domination is removed because alien rule has demoralised and disorganised us to a degree.

Lingua Franca

To promote national unity we shall have to develop our 'lingua franca' and a common script. Further, with the help of such modern scientific contrivances as aeroplanes, telephone, radio, films, television, etc., we shall have to bring the different parts of India closer to one another and through a common educational policy we shall have to foster a common spirit among the entire population.

So far as our 'lingua franca' is concerned, I am inclined to think that the distinction between Hindi and Urdu is an artificial one. The most natural 'lingua franca' would be a mixture of the two such as is spoken in daily life in large portions of the country and this common language may be written in either of the two scripts, Nagari or Urdu.

I am aware that there are people in India who strongly favour either of the two scripts to the exclusion of the other. Our policy, however, should not be one of exclusion. We should allow the fullest latitude to use either script. At the same time, I am inclined to think that the ultimate solution and the best solution would be the adoption of a script that would bring us into line with the rest of the world.

PERHAPS, SOME OF OUR COUNTRYMEN WILL GAPE WITH HORROR WHEN THEY HEAR OF THE ADOPTION OF THE ROMAN SCRIPT, BUT I WOULD BEG THEM TO CONSIDER THIS PROBLEM FROM THE SCIENTIFIC AND HISTORICAL POINT OF VIEW. IF WE DO THAT, WE SHALL REALISE AT ONCE THAT THERE IS NOTHING SACROSANCT IN A SCRIPT.

The Nagari script, as we know it to-day, has passed through several phases of evolution. Besides, most of the major provinces of India have their own script and there is the Urdu script which is used largely by the Urdu-speaking public in India and by both Muslims and Hindus in provinces like the Punjab and Sindh.

In view of such diversity, the choice of a uniform script for the whole of India should be made in a thoroughly scientific and impartial spirit, free from bias of every kind. I confess that there was a time when I felt that it would be anti-national to adopt a foreign script. But my visit to Turkey in 1934 was responsible for converting me. I then realised for the first time what a great advantage it was to have the same script as the rest of the world.

So far as our masses are concerned, since more than 90 per cent. are illiterate and are not familiar with any script, it will not matter to them which script we introduce when they are educated. The Roman script will, moreover, facilitate their learning a European language.

I am quite aware how unpopular the immediate adoption of the Latin script would be in

(Continued on Page 39.)

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Subhas Sees Big Struggle Ahead

U. P. And Bihar Crisis Is Not Mere Provincial Affair, Says President

(FROM OUR SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.)
HARIPURA: February 19.

TWO LACS OF PEOPLE FROM ALL OVER THE DISTRICT ASSEMBLED THIS MORNING IN THE SPECIOUS ZENDHA MAIDAN TO WITNESS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS DURING THE PLENARY SESSIONS OF THE CONGRESS EVERY YEAR, NAMELY, FLAG-HOISTING BY THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT.

Since early morning villagers streamed into Zendha Maidan, the biggest during recent years, and gathered round the huge flagmast which had a high platform running round it.

Almost all 70 leaders present in Vithalnagar attended the function and the British statesman. Lord Samuel. was an interested spectator.

In spite of prevailing enthusiasm among the public who had come from far and near to witness the Rashtrapathi hoist the National Flag in a taluka which has attained international fame for its devotion and regard for National Flag negligence by officials of volunteers damped the enthusiasm of everyone when Babu Subhash was about to unfurl the flag.

However much he might pull the rope the Flag would not unfurl. The rope had not been tied properly and the knot would not get loosened. The tied bundle was at last brought down, and unfurled and taken up and yet the flag would not fly in all its glory all due to sheer negligence of volunteer officials who should have rehearsed the unfurling several times before the actual ceremony.

Volunteers in Haripura are possibly well trained in recent years. They were courteous. They were strict. They behaved very well. But to one who has come to regard the National Flag with reverence all this does not count if Tricolour is not properly honoured. None could excuse them for what they did this morning. I am sure that even the Reception Committee officials will agree with this feeling.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose who unfurled the flag amidst blowing of bugles and playing of band and singing of "Vande Mataram". addressing the gathering through microphone said that the Tricolour was the symbol of aspirations of the people on India.

He also referred to ministerial crisis and said that it was an all-India question and not a mere local matter.

He promised that the Congress High Command would solve the problem facing them and expected the people to give their co-operation whatever action the Congress Executive might decide upon.

The huge gathering that had gathered on Zendha Chowk took nearly an hour to disperse. Movement in the Congress Nagar had, in circumstances, to be very slow because of dust storm which has been raging since yesterday.

The ceremony was carried out in pin drop silence.

The flag hoisting is the first ceremony which heralds the opening of the plenary session. The Zendha Chowk, nearly half a square mile in area, was one vast sea of khadi-clad heads contrasting with the red glow of early morning sky as the sun slowly rose above the vast concourse.

The swirling dust raised by thousands of feet was caught up by the wind and hung above the gathering, reflecting the red hues of the sky, like some vast awning.

The ceremony was solemn and imposing, and one of the most memorable yet held in the annals of the Congress.

The leaders arrived in procession and were conducted to the rostrum.

STRONG WIND. OBSTRUCTS

Reason For Delay In Flag Hoisting

(From Our Special Representative)
VITHALNAGAR, Feb. 19.

Inquiries made regarding this morning fiasco during flag-salutation ceremony show that the flag did not unfurl, inspite of the Congress President pulling the rope hard, because of the heavy wind.

As a matter of fact, an expert was incharge. No doubt, the velocity of the wind was very great and might have been responsible for the flag not unfurling in time. Immediately after the crowd dispersed the mistake was rectified, and the flag is flying in all its glory now.

BIG STRUGGLE AHEAD

VITHALNAGAR, February 19.

"From all indications, I feel that a big fight is ahead of us. Deadlock which has taken place in Bihar and the United Provinces does not concern only these two places. It is only a forerunner of bigger conflict which is soon to involve the whole country.

"The Congress will give the country proper lead as to how this situation is to be met. But I call on you from this platform to take a solemn resolve to rise as one man in response to the call of the Congress on this most critical juncture in the history of nationalist movement in our country."

With these words, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the Congress, concluded his speech delivered after hoisting the national flag this morning at the Jhanda Chowk amidst most inspiring settings.—United Press.

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Ladies' Show Tues., 1-30 p.m.

Harijan Deputation On Gandhiji

Want Representation On Congress Committee

(Special Service.)

VITHALNAGAR, February 19.

Harijan leaders who have come to Haripura in connection with the Congress Session from various provinces met under the presidency of Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillay, Minister for Agriculture and Rural Development, Madras.

Meeting decided to send a deputation to Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress President to place before them the case of Harijans in regard to their representation on various Congress Committee and press for carrying out concessions granted to them under the Poona Pact.

The meeting elected a Committee with Mr. Muniswami Pillay, and Messrs R. L. Jogiwanram, P. N. Rajbhoy, H. C. Khandekar with power to co-opt for organising All-India Harijan Leaders Conference.

Mr. Pillay in his speech made an appeal to Harijans for joining the Congress in large numbers. Though the majority of scheduled caste people were outside the Congress, said Mr. Pillay, Congress Ministries were trying to do many things for their amelioration. Poona Pact, however, still remained unimplemented and Harijans should organise to see that terms of the Poona Pact are conceded in full. For this they should work in co-operation with the Congress which stands for the liberation of the poor, the oppressed and the exploited.—United Press.

New agreements for increased wages and holidays with pay for workers in the ship-building and ship-repairing industry were accepted by the confederation of ship-building and engineering unions at a meeting in York, states a cable from London.

Viceroy Has Gone Back On His Assurance

Anglo-Indian M.L.A. Supports Congress

("CHRONICLE" SPECIAL)

ALLAHABAD, February 19.

The Governor-General's interference is not supported by Mr. H. G. Walford, representative of the Anglo-Indians in the U. P. Assembly.

In the course of an interview Mr. Walford said, "The Governor-General has gone back on his assurances given to the Congress by his action under Section 126(5).

"It was absurd and childish, specially when the Viceroy knew that the release of politicals is part of the Congress manifesto and the Congress was sure to implement it.

While Sir Tej Bahadur keeps mum, the local liberal organ has been blowing hot and cold.

In its view everybody is to blame. "All the three parties have blundered and blundered badly" is sapient comment of the "Leader".

Sri Krishna Sinha Congratulated

VITHALNAGAR, Feb. 19.

The Bihar delegates met last night at the cottage of Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha, Premier of Bihar, and passed a resolution congratulating Ministers on their resignation and calling upon the workers to mobilise forces for the fight ahead.—United Press.

Among the recipients of decorations from the King at Buckingham Palace at the second investiture in connection with the New Year's honours were two miners—brothers from Staffordshire who have been awarded medals in recognition of their bravery in a colliery accident last year.

"Times" Welcomes Moderation

If Present Spirit Continues Differences Will Be Settled, It Says

LONDON, February 19.

In a leader the "Times" after commending the restraint with which the constitutional dispute in India has been hitherto marked and remarking that well-informed opinion in England recognises that there is room for honest disagreement over the issue involved, says that there are other aspects of the crisis which, in spite of the hope that if not immediately resolved, it can and will be localised. It must not have arisen from any organised ministerial opposition to the India Act. At present it can fairly be said that the Congress Ministries are working the reforms with zeal and decided success in seven out of eleven provinces.

Had the Congress Party made it clear at the outset that it respected the right of an elected non-Congress Ministry to solve its own problem in its own way the present crisis would very possibly have been avoided and it is surely not too late for the Party which defends the principle of majority rule to recognise that right.

It will be more than regrettable if the present dispute were in anyway to become exacerbated or extended. The moderation with which it has been and continues to be discussed still justifies the hope that it may be composed by agreement.—A.P.

ALL MINISTERS IN CONFERENCE

HARIPURA, Feb. 18.

The Sub-Committee appointed by the Working Committee met from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. and considered the draft resolution on the ministerial crisis.

ZANZIBAR TROUBLE.

Seth Govindas submitted his report on his African visit to the Working Committee. Report is of 65 pages and is understood to suggest colonisation of East Africa.

It is understood that hopes of lifting of the Zanzibar clove boycott have now entirely vanished.

A largely attended meeting of the Congress Musalmans was held this evening immediately after the Subjects Committee meeting at the A. I. C. C. pandal. Dr. Syed Mahmud presiding.

The meeting considered at length the question of anti-Congress propraganda among Muslims and appointed a Committee of Dr. Syed Mahmud Maulana Hussain Ahmad, S. A. Brelvi and Hafizurrehman to chalk out a programme for work among Muslims in India.—A. P.

SAMUEL ENTERTAINED

VITHALNAGAR, (Haripura), February 18.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President, gave a dinner to Lord Samuel in his tent at which most of the members of the Working Committee were present

Lord Samuel appears to have been deeply impressed by the arrangements and organisations of the Congress session and the orderly crowds that thronged the Nagar. Lord Samuel has been one of the regular visitors to Mamatma Gandhi's evening prayers in the Exhibition ground since his arrival here.

Lord Samuel hopes to interview Mahatma Gandhi to-morrow, the latter's health permitting.

FOLK DANCE

Darbar Gopaldas, Chairman of the Reception Committee, entertaining thousands of visitors to the Exhibition this evening by stagng a folk dance, he himself participating in the dance.

After the Kisan rally a largely attended meeting was held in the open space where Swami Sahajanand and other Socialist leaders addressed them.—A. P.

In England and America every householder keeps a few good quality fowls for the daily supply of fresh eggs for the Breakfast table. White Leghorns or Rhode Island Reds are best suited for the purpose. Ask the Asian Poultry Institute, 11, Konnot Road, Poona, for further information. (Advt.).

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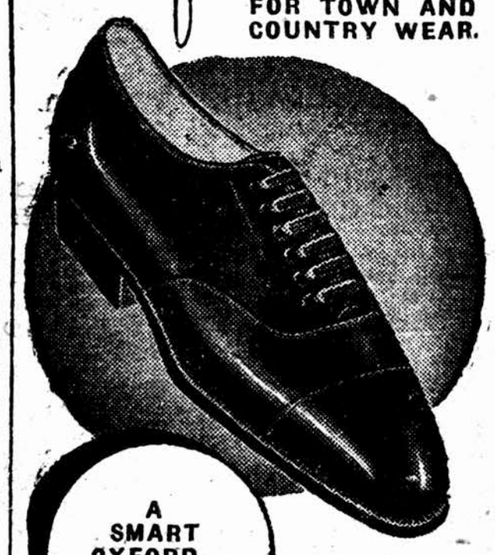

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LOCAL ENGAGEMENTS

To-day

Hindu: Magh Vad 6. 1994
Muslim: Zilnaj 18, 1356
Parsi: Sherever 19, 1307
Hightide: 3-06; 15-56
Lowtide: 9-23; 21-25
Sunrise: 7h. 4m.
Sunset: 6h. 41m.

PRARTHANA SAMAJ

Mr. Y. V. Bhandarkar will conduct the Weekly Divine Service in the Prarthana Mandir Girgaum to-day (Sunday), at 5-30 p.m.

UNITED LODGE OF THEOSOPHISTS

"The Circle of Sorrow" will be the subject of a free public lecture to be delivered at the above Lodge, Jehangir Wadia Building, opposite Flora Fountain on Sunday evening at 6-15.

KANARA BROTHERHOOD

The Final Annual Sports of the Kanara Brotherhood will be held to-day (Sunday), at 2-30 p.m. (S.T.) on the Grant Medical College Gymkhana Grounds.

SWASTIK LEAGUE

The annual 3 miles walking Race for members above 40 years of ages and the 7 miles walking Race will come off at 6-15 a.m. (S.T.) on 20th and 27th inst. respectively. Entries will be accepted till the starting time.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' PARSEE UNION

Under the auspices of the above Union there will be a public lecture by Mr. Rustom S. R Battlivalla on "The Prospects of Federation" to-day (Sunday), at 10-30 a.m. at the Tutorial High School.

MAHOMED HAJI SABOO SIDDIK INSTITUTION

The first annual gathering and prze distribution of the institution will come off to-day (Sunday), at 5-15 p.m. (S.T.) at Shepherd Road, Byculla, when Hon. Mr Justice M. A. Somjee will preside and Mrs. Somjee will distribute the prizes.

STEAMER MOVEMENTS

The O. S K. Steamer "London Maru" left Colombo on February 17 and is due to arrive in Bombay on February 21.

Clan Line steamer "Clan Morrison" arrived Suez evening of 17th inst. Clan Line steamer Clan Alpine left Suez evening of 17th inst.

ADULT FRANCHISE LEAGUE

A public meeting of the citizens of the Dhobi Talao Ward will be held in the cement Chawl compound, Chandanwadi, under the auspices of the Adult Franchise League to-day (Sunday), at 8-30 p.m. when Advocate Manikram Talpade will preside. A resolution recommending the introduction of Adult Franchise for the Bombay Municipal Corporation will be adopted.

CELESTIAL SCENERY THROUGH TELESCOPE

Under the auspices of the Amateur Astronomers League, Mr. Padam S. M. Godrez will deliver, in English, a public lecture, with illustrative explanations of gazing the Stars and identifying the Constellations at 7 p.m. to-day (Sunday).

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AMUSEMENTS OF THE DAY

BROADWAY—"Escadrille" Daily at 4, 6-30 and 10 p.m.
CAPITOL—"The Go Getter" Daily at 4, 6-30 and 10 p.m.
CENTRAL—"Nand-Kumar" Daily at 5-15, 8 and 10-45 p.m. Matinee, to-day at 2-30 p.m.
EROS—"The Awful Truth" Daily at 6-30 and 10 p.m. to-day Sunday at 3, 6 and 10 p.m.
EXCELSIOR—"Over She Goes" Daily at 4, 6-30 and 10 p.m.
IMPERIAL—"Watan' Daily at 5-15, 8 and 10-45 p.m. Matinee, to-day at 2-30 p.m.
KRISHNA—"The Unexpected" Daily at 5, 8 and 10-30 p.m. Matinee, to-day at 2 p.m
MAJESTIC—"Kissan Kanya" Daily at 5-15, 8 an. 10-30 p.m. Matinee, to-day at 2-30 p.m.
MINERVA—"Jeevan Prabhat" Daily at 5-30, 8 and 10-30 p.m. Matinee, to-day at 2-45 p.m.
OPERA HOUSE—"Chandrarao More" Daily at 5-15, 8 and 10-45 p.m. Matinee, to-day at 2-30 p.m.
PATHE—"Gentleman Daku" Daily at 3, 6-30 and 10 p.m
PLAZA—"Dharmaveer" Daily at 5, 7-45 and 10-30 p.m. Matinee, to-day at 2-15 p.m.
REGAL—"A Damsel in Distress" Daily at 4, 6-30 and 10 p.m.
ROXY—"Vidyapati" Daily at 5-15, 8 and 10-45 p.m. Matinee, to-day at 2-30 p.m.
WEST-END—"Nightingale" Daily at 5-15, 8 and 10-45 p.m. Matinee, to-day at 2-30 p.m.
WELLINGTON—"London by Night" Daily at 3-30, 6-30 and 10 p.m.

NAGPADA NEIGHBOURHOOD HOUSE

There will be a public Debate to-day (Sunday) at 10 a.m. on the Subject: "In the interest of beauty beautiful women should remain unmarried." Proposer: Mr. John Barnabas and Opposer: Mr. T. K. Menon.

BOMBAY ASTROLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Under the auspices of the Bombay Astrological Society, Mr. Y. K. Pradhan and Dr. Segal will give a discourse on "The Moon and the planet Mars and their effects" at Saraswati Mandir, near Kennedy Bridge, Grant Road, at 4-30 p.m. to-day (Sunday).

PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE INSTITUTE

A Special General Meeting of the Bombay Divisional Co-operative Institute will be held to-day (Sunday), at 9-30 a.m. at the Servants of India Society's Hall, to consider the Government Resolution embodying the principles laid down by the Government with regard to the Constitution of the Provincial Co-operative Institute.

TRAVANCORE UNION

Under the auspices of the Travancore Union, Bombay, a condolence meeting of Keralites in the city will be held to-day (Sunday) to mourn the death o Sahityapanchananan P. K. Narayan Pillai, retired High Court Judge of Travancore, on the terrace of Narayan Vihar (Plot No. 167), Poona Wadi. Dadar.

BOMBAY TAXI DRIVERS' UNION

An extra ordinary General Meeting of the Bombay Taxi Drivers' Union will be held to-day (Sunday), at 1 p.m. (S.T.) sharp, at the Peoples Jinnah Hall, Congress House, when the following business will be transacted: 1. Proposed "Four anna rate"; 2 Government Notification Re: Private Taxis; 3. New Taxi Meters; 4. Cancellation of Taxi Cars and 5. Petrol Fund.

SHREE KRISHNA VIDYALAYA DADAR

The 17th annual gathering of the Vidyalaya, will take place to-day (Sunday), at 4 p.m. in the Vanmali Hall, Dadar, under the presidentship of Miss Shantabai Khedkar, M.A. D.T., (Principal of I. E. Society Girls' School, Dadar), an interesting programme of variety entertainment is arranged.

TANDRA DEVI

WESTERN INDIA OPEN TENNIS

Results Of Saturday's Matches

The following are the results of the matches played in the Western India Open Tennis Championships at the Queens Road Courts on Saturday afternoon:—

MEN'S SINGLES

J. Charanjiva beat M. N. Desai 6—1, 6—4.

D. Stilliard beat O. Sutton 2—6 7—5, 6—2

N. Rama Rao beat R. W. Cawdeary 6—2, 6—4.

F. F. Vakharia beat M Rama Rao 2—6, 7—5, 6—3.

MEN'S DOUBLES.

M. Bhandari and M. Rama Rao beat O. Sutton and R. W. Cawdeary 6—2, 6—3.

Sunday's Matches

CENTRE COURT 3-45 P.M.: Y. R. Savur vs M. Bhandari, 4-15 P.M. B De vs J. Charanjiwa, 5 P. M. Ranbir Singh and C. W. Owen vs. J. Charanjiwa and L. Brooke Edwards.

COURT NO. 1 3-45 P.M.: H. L. Marshall vs A. C. Suntook, 4-15 P.M. Y. Singh and Miss S. Mehta vs M. Rama Rao and Partner, 5-0 P.M. D. Stilliard and R. C. Summerhayes vs M. Bhandari and M. Rama Rao.

COURT NO. 4 3-45 P.M.: N. Rama Rao vs N. S. Talwar, 5-15 P. M. J. E. Tew and Mrs. Tew vs. N. Rama Rao and Mrs Radcliffe-Genge.

COURT NO. 5 3-45 P.M.: D. Stilliard vs N. P. Shroff, 5-15 P.M Winners of A. C. Suntook vs. H. L. Marshall vs. A. G. Gupte.

COURT NO. 6 4 P.M.: J. E. Tew vs. M. Take.

IRISH REVOLUTION

Subhas To Lecture On De Valera's Technique

The Secretary of the Bombay Congress Socialist Party writes:—

De Valera's tactics and technique in the creation of Eire is looked upon as a marvel in bloodless revolution. It has attracted great attention. An authentic exposition of these tactics and technique will naturally evoke great public interest.

There is no better man than Babu Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the Indian National Congress, who can give such an exposition because of his close contact with Mr. De Valera and personal study of the Irish situation during his recent visit to Ireland.

The Congress Socialist Party is glad that Subhas Babu has agreed to give a public lecture on "De Valera and his Technique of Irish Revolution" under its auspices. The lecture will be delivered at the Cowasji Jehangir Hall on Friday, the 25th instant at 6 p. m. Admission to the hall will be by tickets which are available at the Party Office, Dadabhai Manzil, Congress House and at the "Congress Socialist" weekly office at Medows Street, Fort. The rates are Rs. 5: Rs. 3: Rs. 2 and Re 1.

OBITUARY

Domestic Occurrence

KANGA—Homi Cursetji Dorabji Kanga (Proprietor C. Dorabji & Co.) passed away on Saturday evening. Funeral to-day (Sunday) morning at 8 a. m. (S.T.) from Bhaba's Bungli, Tower of Silence.

Office Closed For Congress Session

BOMBAY GRAINS AND SEEDS ASSOCIATION

"The Board of Directors of the Bombay Grains and Seeds Association, Ltd. have, on account of the Congress Session, unanimously resolved to close the market on Saturday and on Monday (21st instant), the market will be opened from 2 p. m to 4 p. m. for making payments of settlement and also the market will remain open during night as usual."

SUGAR MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION

Sugar Market will remain entirely closed to-day (Sunday) on account of the 'Haripura' Congress Session, and on Thursday the 24th instant, being the Congress President's arrival day in Bombay.

Subhas Bose To Open Lakshmi Insurance Building

Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President will perform the opening ceremony of the Lakshmi Insurance Company's new building Pherozeshah Mehta Road on Friday (25th inst.)

NIKIZ-E-VEHDEEN

The 34th lecture of a series of lectures on the teachings of the Zoroastrian religion explaining the mystic and literary sides explained in the series of books called "Nikiz-e-Vehdeen" (Vol. II) will be given by Mr Jehangir S. Chiniwala, Advocate, in the Parsi Vegetarian and Temperance Society Hall, Dadyset House, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, to-morrow (Monday) at 6-30 p.m.

The classes will close hereafter and reopen on April 4th.

B. P. M. Nawajawan Conference

The Bombay Presidency Muslim Nawajawan Conference was held on Saturday night in a specially erected pandal at Mahomed Ali Road.

Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim declared open the Conference.

The Raja of Mahmudabad then delivered his presidential address.

(A detailed report of the Conference will appear in Monday's issue of the "Chronicle.")

REGAL
Daily at 4, 6-30 & 10 p.m.

NEW SONGS! NEW LAUGHS!
EXTRA EXTRA
Exclusive film of the
BRADDOCK-FARR
Boxing Contest

Stormy Career Of President Bose

Resigned From Civil Service And Became Foremost Politician

The following is the life sketch of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the next Indian National Congress:—

Subhas Ch. Bose was born on the 23rd January, 1897, at Cuttack. His father Janaki Nath Bose was the Government Pleader of Cuttack and the Leader of the local Bar. He was for a long time Chairman of the Cuttack Municipality and also Chairman of the District Board. At the age of five Subhas was admitted into the Protestant European School where he studied till the age of 12. He was then transferred to the Ravenshaw Collegiate School from here he matriculated in 1913, standing second in the University. Throughout his school career he topped the class.

At the age of 14 he came under the influence of Ramkrishna Paramhansa and Swami Vivekananda. Even before he left school he gathered round him a group of friends who looked forward to living a religious life in accordance with the teachings of Ramkrishna and Vivekananda. When he joined the Presidency College in 1913 he was still imbued with religious motive and he got into touch with larger groups of students who believed in the same principles.

Expelled From College

A year after he suddenly left home on a pilgrimage hoping to find a guru in the course of his wanderings in Upper India. After some months he returned home disappointed and was soon taken ill with typhoid fever. After passing the Intermediate Examination he took up the study of philosophy. He was the leader of his class at the time. In 1916 owing to the objectionable attitude of an English Professor, Mr. Oaten, there was trouble in the College. Subhas was one of the leaders in the students' strike and fell into official disfavour. A month later Mr. Oaten who repeated his objectionable action was thrashed by some students as a retaliation. A number of students were expelled from the college in this connection and Subhas was one of them. After losing two years he was permitted to resume his studies.

Resigns From I. C. S.

He joined the Scottish Churches College and passed his B.A., with first class Honours in Philosophy. During this period he joined the University Infantry which had been newly formed to give military training to Bengalee students. After graduating he studied Experimental Psychology for a few months and suddenly left for England to complete for the I.C.S. Examination. After eight months he sat for the I.C.S. Examination and came out successful standing fourth.

A year later he resigned his service with a view to taking up a political career. Before he returned to India in 1921, he took his Degree at Cambridge in Philosophy Honours.

Imprisoned

Soon after his return to India he met Mahatma Gandhi and on his advice he reported himself to C. R. Das. He became the Principal of the National College and was also appointed the Publicity Officer of the Provincial Congress Committee. A few months later he took a leading part in the 'hartal' in connection with the arrival of the Prince of Wales. A successful 'hartal' led to the banning of the Congress Volunteers and was followed by the declaration of Civil Disobedience and the arrest of Deshbandhu, Sasmal and Subhas. After spending eight months in prison he was released in 1922, whereupon he proceeded to North Bengal to organise relief for the flood-stricken people of that area. His work in that connection was appreciated not only by the public but also by the then Governor Lord Lytton who personally congratulated him at Santahar.

In December, 1922 at the Gaya Congress presided over by Deshbandhu Das the Swaraj Party was launched. He threw himself heart and soul into the organisation of that Party. He was then commissioned by Deshbandhu to organise the paper "Forward" which came out in October 1923 and was great success. In the Council elections of 1923 and in the Calcutta Municipal elections of 1924 he played an important part. When the Calcutta Corporation came under the control of the Congress Party the same year he was appointed Chief Executive Officer. He was in office for only six months but within that period he was able to do much to execute the programme of Deshbandhu Das, the first Mayor.

Elected Mayor While In Jail

He was suddenly arrested under Reg. III of 1818 in October 1924 and deported to Mandalay. He was brought back in May 1927 and was released for reasons of health. Between 1927 and 1929 he was President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee. He was also a Member of the All-Parties Committee of Nehru Committee. In 1929 he was elected the President of All-India Trade Union Congress which office he held till 1931. In 1930 he was sentenced to nine months' rigorous imprisonment and while he was in prison he was elected the Mayor of Calcutta.

After his release in September 1930, he was again arrested in January 1931 and sentenced to a short term in Maldah District. On 26th January 1931 he was severely assaulted by the Police for leading a procession on the Independence Day and sentenced to six months. He was released at the time of the Gandhi-Irwin truce but was arrested twice during the truce period. Early in January 1932 he was again arrested under Reg. III of 1818 and kept in prison till February '33.

When his health broke down he was permitted to go to Europe to recoup his health but was not permitted to see his parents before leaving India. In December 1934 on receiving a cable from his mother that his father was seriously ill he flew to India. On his arrival in Calcutta he was arrested and home-interned. A month later he left again for Europe to resume his treatment.

While in Europe he wrote a book on the Indian movement called the Indian Struggle 1920 to 1934. The book had a very large sale in Europe but was banned in India. On his return home in April 1936 on the occasion of the Lucknow Congress he was again arrested under Reg. III of 1818 and was this time kept in prison till March 1937.

Subhas Chandra Bose.

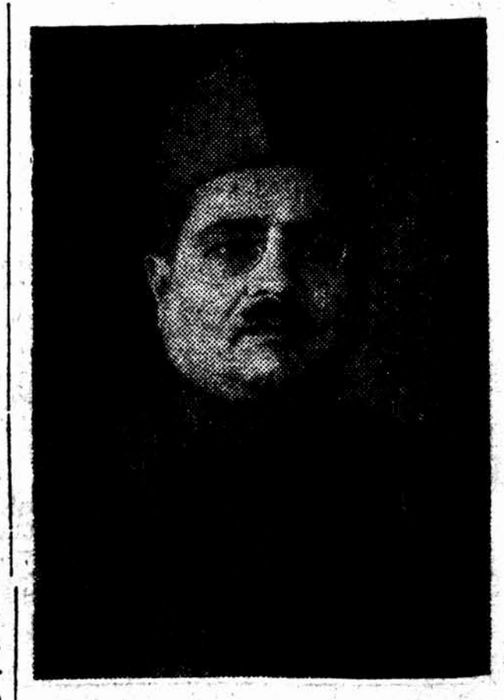
The Indian National Congress: What Of The Immediate Future?

(By Jamnadas Dwarkadas)

At no stage of its interesting history was the Congress ever confronted with such a difficult problem as stares it in the face today. Whether it was engaged in passing resolutions on its demand for piecemeal reforms in one or the other department of the British Indian administration, or as happened later in the days of Dr. Besant and Lokmanya Tilak, it concentrated on a clear-cut definite demand for reforms progressively culminating in Dominion Self-Government, or even when under the auspices of Gandhiji it enhanced its demand first to Dominion Status, and subsequently to Complete Independence, resorting as a reply to the repressive policy of the Government of India, to civil disobedience on a mass scale, in all these policies the Congress constituted itself into a solid phalanx of opposition to the Government of the day. Any one who was found to reduce the strength of the opposition was, without any consideration of his position high or low, and regardless of his or her meritorious services to the country was thrown out and treated as an outcaste, often unjustly, I admit, but for the simple reason that in the development of man strength and resistance to the rulers, any slightest compromise was looked upon as a decidedly retrograde step. Between foreigners who ruled for the purpose of exploiting the country and the people who yearned for freedom, no compromise was considered safe or advisable.

Changed Outlook

Now, however, the situation has completely altered. On the one hand, the Congress has the duty of keeping its vision of the goal of complete Independence clear and untarnished before his mind's eyes, and actively work for its quick, if not immediate attainment, and on the other hand it has to reduce its strength of opposition in the provinces in which office acceptance has resulted in the formation of Congress ministries. Not only that, but as rulers in those provinces, the Congress ministers have to face at once the opposition of reactionaries as well as of impatient extremists, of the Governor with special powers as well as of the stagnant conservatives. In short, the Congress has been called upon to play the paradoxical role both of the Government and the opposition at the same time, and both these roles have to be played with hundred per cent. efficiency, for the slightest abatement in its ardour would, so far as the achievement of the goal is concerned reduce its demand to a mere shiboleth, and in the case of Provincial Governments would render futile and false their promises to give immediate economic and other relief to the long suffering poor and lower middle classes of the land. No enviable position to-day the leaders of the Congress enjoy. Theirs is a most difficult task fought with the danger of being grossly misunderstood—and people are not wanting who would either out of ignorance, over-zealousness or deliberate cursedness belittle the Congress—by their own followers, and it suits foreign rulers to take unholy pleasure in encouraging and fanning into flames this situation in the hope that the disappointed and disillusioned masses may eventually turn to them for the solution of their problems, and British Imperialism may obtain a longer lease of life. Were the intelligent patriotic people to grasp this situation thoroughly, there would doubtless be less carping criticism of the Congress, there would be greater understanding, and consequently better appreciation of and more co-operation with its arduous work of translating its profession into practice. I am not of those who would regard all criticism as opposition. In the work of any Government or institution managed by imperfect human beings, there is always room for disagreement, and consequent criticism, but it must be of a constructive, a suggestive, of a building character, that from one brother of another, and not the carping, biting, criticism of an opponent who revels in spreading discontent and bitterness against a foe. The right type of criticism should always be welcome, for it is like the breath of life in the body-politic of the human society, and I would deferentially, urge upon the Congress leaders, and the various Congress ministers, the importance of not being either super-sensitive, or to fight shy of and decry or discourage this type of criticism of their action. But, intelligence should not find difficulty in sympathetically discerning the delicate position of the Congress in not having an opportunity to turn right or left, but to walk straight through the middle path which is sharp as the edge of a razor. For this pur-



Jamnadas Dwarkadas

(Continued on page 31)

TO-DAY ON RADIO

Bombay I & II Programmes

VUB 244 metres, 1,231 kc/s.
Also 49.3 metres, 6,085 kc/s. for Transmissions I & II.
and 90.8 metres, 3,305 kc/s. for Transmission III.

a.m.

7-30 AIR Orchestra: Meghranjani. 7-35 Alla Rakha. 7-50 Bai Laxmibhai of Baroda 8-30 For Children. 11-30 Qawwals and Qawwalis. 11-45 Thumris and Bhajans.

noon.

12-0 Movies and Melodies.

p.m.

12-15 Khayals and Taranas. 12-30 Tunes on Tarangs. 12-45 Planning Food. 1-0 For Children. 1-30 Lew Stone and his Band. 1-45 Gerald and his Orchestra. 5-30 'Ekach Bar' Marathi drama. By S. K. Deobhakta. 6-15 Lalita Venkatram. 6-30 Evensong. 7-30 Life's Little Ironies. 7-45 Master Nissar. 8-15 Lalita Venkatram. 8-40 Dataram Parwatkar. 8-50 AIR Indian Orchestra. 9-0 The News (Hindustani). 9-15 Preet ka Mandir; A Duet. 9-30 The News. 9-45 The Week's Sport A review by A. F. S. Talyarkhan. 10-0 Master Nissar. 10-25 Basant on the Sitar. 10-30 Laximibai of Baroda

Delhi I Programme

VUD 340 metres. 886 kc/s.
TRANSMISSION I.

a.m.

8-0 Kumari Reba Ghosh. 8-20 Nasir Khan of Hyderabad, Deccan. 9-20 Akhtaribai of Faizabad. 9-45 For Jack and Jill.

p.m.

12-30 Bhisham Dev Chatterji. Lalit: Sung and Played. 1-30 Schubert. 5-0 Haripura Congress Session, commentary by G. R. Genge. Relayed from Bombay. 5-30 Kumari Reba Ghosh. 5-50 Gat Tora on the Tabla. By Ustad Malang Khan. 6-0 Ghareeb ki Jhonpri. 6-15 Master Manohar. 6-25 Talib Husain. 6-30 For Villagers Only. Market rates at 7 p. m. 7-30 Akhtaribai. 8-0 Shri Ram. Talk in Hindustani by D. Kaifi. 8-15 Khan Sahib Nasir Khan. 9-15 News. Weather in Hindustani. 9-30 In English. 9-45 Sport, review by G. D. Sondhi. Relayed from Lahore. 10-0 Milan Symphony Orchestra 10-15 Vocal Recital. 10-45 London Philharmonic Orchestra. 10-55 News.

Delhi II Programme

TRANSMISSION I.
31.3 Metres, 9,565 kc/s.
Programmes as in Delhi I.
TRANSMISSION II.
31.3 metres. 9.565 kc/s.
Programmes as in Delhi I.
TRANSMISSION III.
86 metres. 3.495 kc/s.

p.m.

5-0 B. S. Rawat. 5-20 Naat Kedara. 5-30 to 6-30 Programmes as in Delhi I. 6-30 Akhtaribai. 7-0 Southern Melodies. 7-30 to 10-0 Programmes as in Delhi I. 10-0 Reba Ghosh. 10-15 Afzal Husain 10-45 Akhtaribai. 10-55 Geet News.

RESIGNATION OF MINISTRY REGRETTED

PATNA, Feb. 19.

As regards the present constitutional impasse Mr. Yunus, ex-Minister stated to the United Press that although he did not approve of many policies of the Congress Government he regretted their sudden exit in this manner.

He felt certain that negotiation which is about to start between Gandhiji and the Viceroy will soon bring back the Congress Ministers and that means an honourable settlement, having regard to the best interest of the province, will soon be found.—United Press.

The Indian National Congress: What Of The Immediate Future?

(Continued from page 30)

pose what is needed is a determination on the part of us all, to work towards the bringing about of a united front, to avoid all temptations to indulge in unkind criticism, and irresponsibly and thoughtlessly to run down our leaders, which action would inevitably recoil on us boomerang like, and adversely affect our prospects of achieving freedom of the country. The rank and file and the young enthusiasts can find no greater example to follow than that of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the rightly acclaimed idol of the people, the man of transparent honesty and sincerity, the soul of patriotism of the broad and right-minded type, and not super sentimental gushy, hasty type of patriots of whom unfortunately there are many in the land. Understanding, not opposition, co-operation despite small differences on unessentials and not destructive criticism, building, however imperfectly in the beginning and not tearing down with a view to destroy all prospects of the early achievement of our goal, should be the order of the day, and the moment will not be far off when in this country of ours we shall establish our rule on a wholesale scale in the interests of the people, irrespective of their class or creed, and make this country full of the opportunities of service not only to its own people but also to the rest of the world by dint of the high and unique philosophy of life inherited by us, which alone, when applied can bring about peace and happiness to a world groping in darkness. To that end has Gandhiji lived, and let us prove that we are worthy of owning him as our own.

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ASIAN Building, Bombay, 1.

FIGURE WORDS COMPETITION

Having received requests from many of our readers to give another "Figure Words" Competition as the one which appeared last some three months ago attracted considerable attention and interest, we have decided to repeat a similar Competition and hope that this time also the winners may get big prizes.

Each letter of the alphabet is given marks according to its position in the alphabet e.g. A-1, H-8, Q-17, Z-26. For the convenience and ready guidance of the readers a list of the marks is given below.

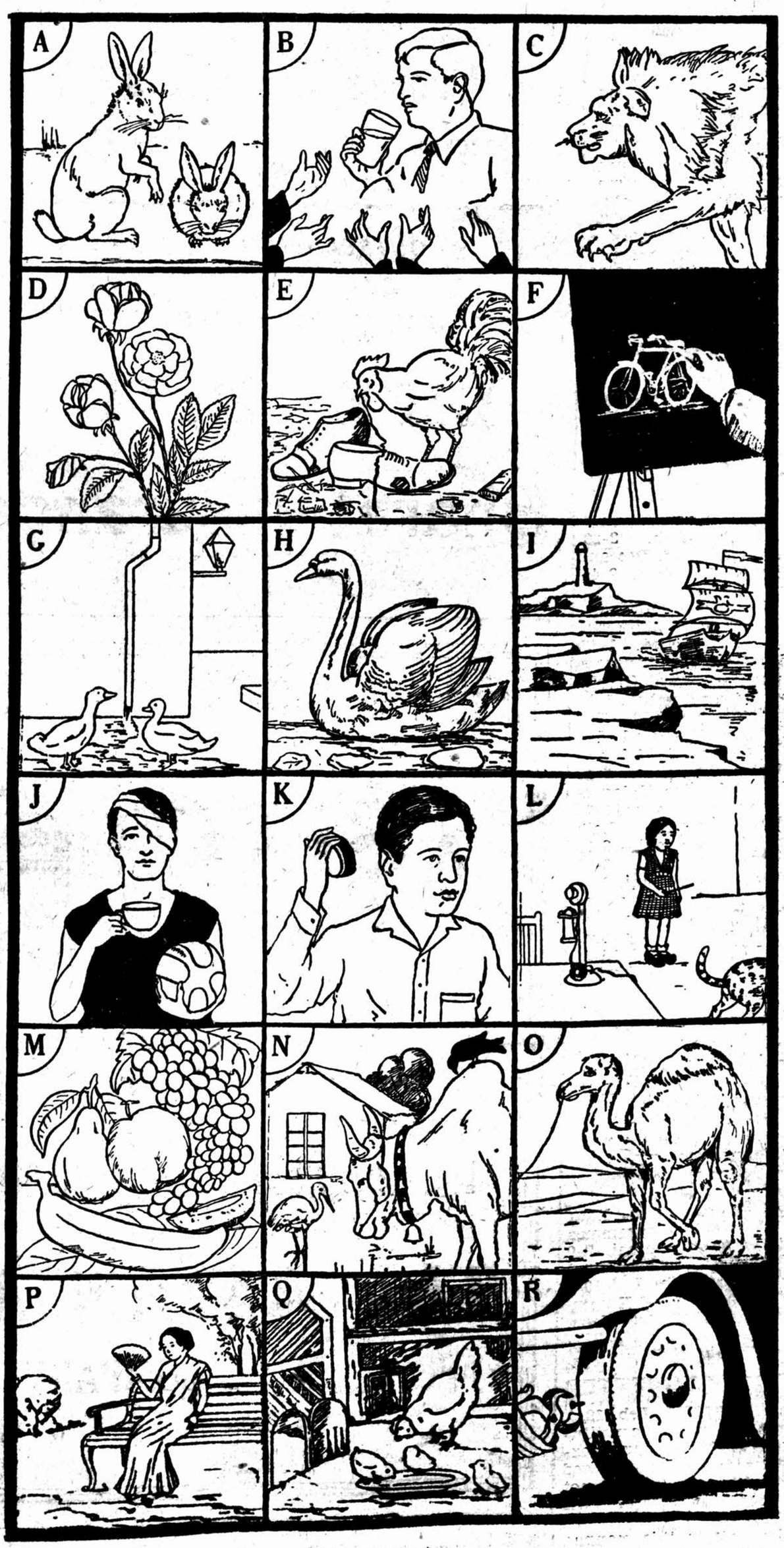
The illustrations on the left show well-known objects, a list of which is also given below. For the purpose of this competition you are to pick out the words from this list only.

The marks for each of the letters in the name of the object are to be totalled up. For example the illustration "H" is that of a Swan. The total number of marks for Swan (S-19, W-23, A-1, N-14) is 57. The block No. 13 in the series to the right shows the figure 57. We have therefore to enter No. 13 against "H" in the coupon.

In the same manner illustration "M" is that of Fruit. As "fruit" appears in the 'list of objects' given hereunder we add up the marks (F-6, R-18, U-21, I-9, T-20) to get the total 74 which is shown in block No. 17. We therefore enter No. 17 against "M" in the coupon.

Similarly you may fill in the rest of the coupon and submit as many entries as you like with an Entrance Fee of Annas Eight for each coupon before 9th March subject to and observing the following rules.

1. When you have filled in all the Numbers write your name and address in full, in block Capitals.
2. All entries will be received at the counter during office-hours from 10 a.m. to 6-30 p.m.
3. A Competitor, however, cannot win more than one prize in this Competition. Solution of this Competition will be accepted only on our entry coupons.
4. Insufficient Entrance Fee enclosed with Entries will disqualify them.
5. All entries must be received in this Office by the last Post on Wednesday, 9th March, 1938, the closing date. Any entry received after this date will not be included in the competition.
6. Corrected or mutilated entries will be disqualified.
7. In case of ties the management reserves the right to distribute the Prize Money among the winning competitors in any manner they like
8. No responsibility is accepted for any entry mislaid, lost or delayed. Proof of posting will not



A—1	N—14
B—2	O—15
C—3	P—16
D—4	Q—17
E—5	R—18
F—6	S—19
G—7	T—20
H—8	U—21
I—9	V—22
J—10	W—23
K—11	X—24
L—12	Y—25
M—13	Z—26

LIST OF OBJECTS

(1) BALL	(13) CUP	(25) LION
(2) BENCH	(14) DISH	(26) NAIL
(3) BIKE	(15) DUCKS	(27) PHONE
(4) BIRDS	(16) EYE	(28) PIPE
(5) BOARD	(17) FRUIT	(29) ROCK
(6) BOY	(18) GIRL	(30) ROSES
(7) BRUSH	(19) GLASS	(31) SHIP
(8) BULL	(20) HAIR	(32) SHOES
(9) CAGES	(21) HANDS	(33) SWAN
(10) CAMEL	(22) HARES	(34) TAIL
(11) CHALK	(23) HEN	(35) TYRE
(12) COCK	(24) LAMP	(36) WOMAN

Rs. 2,000 In Prizes

1 **27**	2 **32**	3 **34**
4 **35**	5 **36**	6 **40**
7 **42**	8 **46**	9 **47**
10 **50**	11 **51**	12 **52**
13 **57**	14 **58**	15 **66**
16 **68**	17 **74**	18 **76**

Entries by Registered post should be addressed as under:—

COMPETITION MANAGER,

The "Bombay Chronicle" Co., Ltd.,

Red House,

Parsee Bazaar Street,

Fort, BOMBAY.

Entries by Ordinary post should be addressed as under:—

POST BOX NO. 706, G. P. O. BOMBAY.

CLOSING DATE

WEDNESDAY,

9th MAR. 1938.

(EXTRA COUPONS SEE PAGE 37)

be accepted as proof of delivery or receipt.

9. In no case, any entrance fee or money sent with entrance fees be refunded or credited to another competition or account. No correspondence will be accepted and replied to if it is sent along with the entry coupon. If any correspondence is sent along with the entries. Competition Department will not be held responsible in any way.

10. This is a combined competition exclusively for the "Bombay Chronicle", Sunday Edition: the "Bombay Samachar" Sunday Edition; and the "Bombay Sentinel".

11. Under NO circumstances correspondence will be entered into or interviews granted in connection with this Competition.

12. All competitors enter this competition on the distinct understanding that the Competition Manager's decision is absolutely final and legally binding in all matters pertaining to this competition. This is an express condition of entry.

Figure Words COUPON 20/2

A	
B	
C	
D	
E	
F	
G	
H	13
I	
J	
K	
L	
M	17
N	
O	
P	
Q	
R	

I have read the rules and conditions of this Competition and I agree to abide by them.

Name

Address

SILHOUETTE COMPETITION RESULTS

ALL-CORRECT ENTRIES

There were twenty-one all correct Entries. Rs. 1,000 is divided among the following twenty-one successful competitors each getting Rupees forty-seven and annas ten only (Rs. 47-10 as as).

U. B. THEJAPPA
Wasaiwala Mansion,
16-D, British Hotel Lane,
Fort, BOMBAY.

MANIBAI AMRATLAL,
40-429 E.,
Sandhurst Road,
BOMBAY, 4.

A. I. CHANDUBHAI,
Sultan Mansion,
Dongri, BOMBAY, 9.

KHOJA AHMEDALI JAFFERBHAI HIRJI,
67, Palia-Gally, Top floor,
BOMBAY, 9.

RAMJI KANJI,
Jetha Kurpar Bldg., 1st floor,
Lal Baug, Govt. Gate Road,
BOMBAY, 12.

Miss S. A. DOODHBHATE,
Plot No. 211-A,
Block 5, MATUNGA.

(Cutch Bhuj)

MEMON ABDUL SHAKOOR SALEHMOHOMAD,
Vokhra Falia,
CUTCH, BHUJ.

(Indore City)

SUGERABAI L. BHAGURWALA,
27, Morathia Bazaar.
INDORE CITY.

(Kathiawar)

FAKHRUDDIN ESMAILJI SHAM,
Near Kamnagar Shop,
DHORAJI (Kathiawar).

REHEMTOOLA DAWOOD WADAWALA,
In the Tank No. 8,
Adamji Peermohomad Bldg.,
BANTUA. (Kathiawar).

CHANDENBALA MOHANLAL,
LALPUR,
(Kathiawar).

BABY HARILAL SONI,
LALPUR,
(Kathiawar).

(Lucknow)

AKBARALI J. HIRJI,
Zamir Mansion,
Gwynne Road,
LUCKNOW.

M. M. G. HUSEN,
3, Nabiulla Road,
LUCKNOW.

H. MISTRY,
3, Nabiulla Road,
LUCKNOW, U. P.

M. MISTRY,
3, Nabiulla Road,
LUCKNOW, U. P.

(Nadiad)

KANTILAL JESHBHAI,
Kakarkhad Bari,
NADIAD.

(Rangoon)

KHATRI SULEMAN ABDULLA,
House No. 167, Lane No. 30,
RANGOON, (Burmah).

(Shimoga)

V. S. RAMACHANDRIAH,
Jubilee Electric Stores,
SHIMOGA.

(Shahada)

K. K. NERWALA, MERCHANT,
C/o Kutubali Noorjibhai,
SHAHADA, West Khandesh.

(Wavol)

RAMSHANKER LILADHAR,
Wavol District Kalol,
NORTH GUJARAT.

SILHOUETTE COMPETITION CORRECT SOLUTION

Illustrations.	Illustrations.
A	18
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TWO ERROR ENTRIES

Rs. 1,000 is divided among the following one hundred and ten competitors with two mistakes each getting Rs. 9-1 as.

G. B. RELVANI,
Inter Arts,
St Xavier's College,
BOMBAY.

V. C. PHATERPEKAR,
Panditalaya, 3rd Floor
Chunam Lane,
Lamington Road,
BOMBAY.

R. D. DARNEY,
The Radiant Tailoring Shop,
Charni Road,
BOMBAY.

D. S. RANE
C/o Overseer,
Race-Course,
BOMBAY 11,

B. B. DHADM,
Race-Course,
BOMBAY 11.

AMRATLAL V. VED,
40-429 E. Sandhurst Road,
BOMBAY 4.

Mrs. NILLA B. MEHTA,
Peerbhai Mansion
Sandhurst Road,
BOMBAY 4.

R. ARDESHIR,
C/o Mrs. Jariwala,
Mohomudi-Minar,
14th Khetwady
BOMBAY.

JEHANGIR JAMSHEDJI MISTRY,
Ratnagar Bldg.,
Trinity Street,
Dhobi-Talao,
BOMBAY.

R. D. MADRASWALA,
Hosiery Bazar,
31-43 2nd Floor,
BOMBAY 3.

REHEMTOOLA KAPADWALLA,
Hosiery Bazar,
31-43, 2nd Floor,
BOMBAY 3.

M. M. REHEMTOOLA,
C/o Haji Abdul Karim Haji, Ebrahim
31-43 English Bazar,
BOMBAY 3.

ABDUL-HUSHAIN DAWOOD-BHAI MAKUTI,
Ahmedbhoy Karimbhoy Shop,
Lalbag, Post No. 12,
BOMBAY.

S. B. SOLANKEY,
C/o J. S Bros,
479, Duncan Road,
BOMBAY 4.

JAYANTILAL JETHALAL,
C/o J. S. Bros.,
479, Duncan Road,
BOMBAY 4.

P. B. HEGISTE,
12-13, Sonapur Lane,
Chira Bazar,
BOMBAY.

M. H. R. SADIQ,
Karim Building,
Mohomadali Road,
BOMBAY 3.

D. Y. DARNAY,
Bohara's Chawl,
Khandawadi,
BOMBAY 4.

B. P. BHOJ
Mandvi Post,
BOMBAY 3.

NARANDAS RAMJI,
Jetha Kurpar Bldg., 1st Floor,
Lal Bag Govt.Gate Road,
BOMBAY 12.

SHETH N. R. MANEK,
Jetha Kurpar Bldg., 1st Floor,
Lal Bag, Govt.-Gate Road,
BOMBAY 12.

KHOJA E. R. WADIWALA,
Nawab Masjid Line
Bhindi Bazar Post No. 3,
BOMBAY.

KHOJA AHMEDALI JAFERBHOY,
67, Samuel Street,
BOMBAY 9.

BEHEN KAMLABAI RAMJI,
Jetha Kurpar Bldg. 1st Floor,
Lal Bag, Govt.-Gate Road,
BOMBAY 12.

Mrs. PRABHA-KUMER AMBALAL,
Higlaj Bhoowan,
Gulal Wady,
BOMBAY 4.

V. R. DAWOOD,
Vasaiwala Manzil, 2nd Floor,
Khalasi Chakla,
BOMBAY 3.

KHOJA AHMEDALI,
Kasai Lane,
Khadak,
BOMBAY 9

M. R. DAWOOD,
Vasaiwala Manzil, 2nd Floor,
Khalasi Chakla,
BOMBAY 3.

PRABHA S. THAKUR,
201, "City View",
Furguson Road Corner,
Worli, BOMBAY 18.

Miss MOTI P. DALAL,
"Sea Breeze"
B. J. Road,
Bandra, BOMBAY.

Matunga.

PREMJI JINABHAI,
Laxmi Narayan Lane,
MATUNGA, G.I.P.

DARJI DEVCHAND LADHABHAI,
Laxmi Narayan Lane,
MATUNGA, G.I.P.

Miss A. SHARDA,
Plot No. 211 A, Block 5,
MATUNGA.

A. L. DOODHBHATE,
Plot No. 211 A.,
Block 5, MATUNGA.

Bombay Suburb

HASANALI SAMSUDIN,
In The Market,
Bhimri Dist., THANA.

(Continued On Page 35.)

Silhouette Compitition Results

Ahmedabad

HIMATLAL LALUBHAI PATEL,
167, Wageshwari Pole,
Raipur, AHMEDABAD.

Akola

RAMKRISHNA DAMODAR,
Athwadia Bazar,
AKOLA (Berar).

JAYANTILAL CHHAGANLAL,
Cloth Market,
AKOLA (Berar).

CHHAGANLAL KALYANJI,
Maharashtra Kirana Shop,
AKOLA (Berar).

ABDUL MATIN,
New Plaza Talkie Palace,
AKOLA (Berar).

RAMCHANDRA RATTIRAM,
Cloth Bazar,
[illegible]OLA.

Bulsar

JINABHAI PURSHOTAMDAS MISTRY,
End of Chhipwada,
BULSAR.

Cutch Mandvi

DHANJI CHHANA MOCHI,
Mochi Bazar,
CUTCH MANDVI.

Cutch Bhuj

MEMON ABDUL GAFOOR MOOSA,
Vokhra Falia,
CUTCH BHUJ.

LOHAR BHANJI PRAGJI,
Photographer,
Kansara Bazar,
CUTCH BHUJ.

ABDUL TAIYAB MOHOMADBHOY,
C/o Mohomadbhoy M. Jaffarji,
Loohar Chakla,
ANJAR (CUTCH).

NOMANALI JIWANJI,
C/o Mohomadbhoy M. Jafferji,
End of Ganga,
ANJAR (CUTCH).

S. T. S. SARDAR,
C/o Adamji Karmji Daruger,
Vohra Bazar,
ANJAR (CUTCH).

A. T. DAROOGER,
C/o Taiyabali A. Darooger,
Vohra Bazar,
ANJAR (CUTCH).

NOOROODIN ESMAILJI,
C/o Jafferji Adamji Darooger,
Moti Bazar,
ANJAR (CUTCH).

RAJGOR KHIMJI VELJI NAKER,
Kotada, Post Nakhtrana,
CUTCH.

Hyderabad (Sind)

HIRASINGH HOTUSINGH,
Sikh-Tract Society Office,
HYDERABAD SIND.

Indore

SUGRABAI E. BHAGOORWALA,
27, Morothia Bazar,
INDORE CITY.

(Continued From Page 34.)

SUGRABAI I. UJJAINWALA,
27, Morothia Bazar,
INDORE CITY.

EBRAHIM KHUNALI UJJAINWALA,
27, Morothia Bazar,
INDORE CITY.

I. KHANALI BHAGURWALA,
27, Morothia Bazar,
INDORE CITY.

R. G. RAJGARHWALLA,
C/o Shisbalak Mathuraprasad,
45, Sikh Mohalla,
INDORE CITY.

Jalgaon

PARWARALI,
C/o M. A. Kizri, Retired Nazir,
Near Rath, Joshi Peth,
JALGAON.

MIR CHAHAT ALI KAZI,
Joshi Peth,
JALGAGON.
E. K.

H. H. V. SHAIKH,
Motor Mechanic,
Motor Stand
JALGAON.

Kotah

HIRALAL JAIN,
Mohan News Agency,
KOTAH, (Rajputana).

Kathiawar

KHOJA BABUBHAI KURJI,
Vegetable Market,
Shop No. 21,
PORBANDAR.

Mrs. LAXMICHAND KHAJURIA,
AT LALPUR,
Via Jamnagar. (Kathiawar).

HARILAL SONI,
AT LALPUR,
Via Jamnagar. (Kathiawar).

SHANTA R. JAMNAGARWALA,
C/o L. R. Jamnagarwala.
AT LALPUR,
Via Jamnagar. (Kathiawar).

MAHENDRA R. JAMNAGARWALA,
C/o L. R. Jamnagarwala,
AT LALPUR,
Via Jamnagar, (Kathiawar).

JAYA HARILAL SONI,
AT LALPUR,
Via Jamnagar, (Kathiawar).

JAYA AMRITLAL JOSHI,
AT LALPUR,
(Kathiawar).

MRS. H. M. DHAKAN,
AT LALPUR,
(Kathiawar).

BEN NARMADA MADHAVJI,
C/o Harilal Madhavji.
AT LALPUR,
(Kathiawar).

JAYA VASANJI,
C/o L. R. K.,
AT LALPUR,
(Kathiawar).

RAJAN BALA,
C/o L. R. Khajuria,
AT LALPUR,
(Kathiawar).

PRAGJIBHAI SONI,
AT LALPUR,
(Kathiawar).

JASUMATI HARILAL SONI,
AT LALPUR,
(Kathiawar).

BABULAL R. JAMNAGARWALA,
C/o L. R. Jamnagarwala,
AT LALPUR.
(Kathiawar).

ZUBEDABAI RAHEMTULA DAWOOD VADALAWALA,
At Talav. No. 8,
Adam Haji Pirmahomad's Deli,
BANTVA,
(Kathiawar).

MARIAMBAI RAHEMTULA DAWOOD VADALAWALA,
At Talav. No. 8,
Adam Haji Pirmahomad's Deli,
BANTVA,
(Kathiawar).

GHANCHI KARIM & AHMAD,
At Kasam Gaji Mithaiwal's Shop,
Davar Road, Chakla Bazar,
DHORAJI.

VORA SHIRINBAI ISMAILJI DHABALIA,
C/o Vora Ismailji Valiji Dhabalia's Shop,
DHORAJI,
(Kathiawar).

SITAR KASAM MITHAIWALA,
Tawar Road, Chakla Bazar,
DHORAJI.

Bhesan

DHIRAJLAL GAURI-SHANKER JOSHI,
C/o Vahivati Office,
AT BHESAN Via Jetpur.

P. K. CHAUHAN,
Chakda Wadi,
Pilhadia House,
RAJKOT.

MEHTA DURLABHJI WAGHAJI,
Near Momi Mandar,
MORVI,
(Kathiawar).

IBRAHIM MAHOMAD,
Jail Road, Agani Shop,
JUNAGAD.

Cauta

VILABHI KARSANJI TRAVADI,
AT CHAUTA,
Via Kutiana, J. S. Rly.

Shapur

PRANLAL BHUTA VYAS,
AT SHAPUR SORATH,
Via Junagad.

TRIBHOVAN RANCHHOD JOSHI,
AT SHAPUR SORATH,
Via Junagad.

Lucknow

A. JAFFERBHOY,
380, Gwynne Road,
LUCKNOW.

M. M. MISTRY,
3, Nabiulla Road,
LUCKNOW.

H. M. KANJI,
3, Nabiulla Road,
LUCKNOW.

AKBERBHOY BOMBAYWALA,
Gwynne Road,
LUCKNOW.

KULSUMBAI AKBERALI,
3, Nabiulla Road,
LUCKNOW.

MOHSINJI,
3, Nabiulla Road,
LUCKNOW.

MASTER HYDER BOMBAYWALA,
3, Nabiulla Road,
LUCKNOW.

Mahesher

ABID M. M. GODHARAWALA,
MAHESHER,
(Nimar).

Madras

AHMAD SHA KHAN,
C/o Kabuli,
5, Paper Mills Road,
Perambure,
MADRAS.

Mandosour

M. HAZARIMAL TRIPATHI,
C/o Madanlal Photo Artist,
MANDOSOUR,

DOLATRAI GANDABHAI VASHI,
Navigle,
NAVSARI.

TRIMBAKLAL JIVANBHAI KHAKHALIA.
NARGOL.

Parbhani

SIRAJ,
C/o M. K. Husein,
Talukdar's Office,
PARBHANI.

Patan

NURBHAI ISMAILJI PATEL,
At Sia, POST UN,
Via Patan, (N. Gujarat).

Raipur

DAMODAR V.,
C/o Jayant Photo Studio,
Sadar Bazar,
RAIPUR.

RAMPRASAD SHARMA,
RAIPUR.

Ranala

HASAMBHAI,
C/o Rujatahusen Taherbhai Merchant,
RANALA,
(T. V. Rly.)

Surat

MRS. K. K. MISTRY,
Behind Haripara Mahadev,
SURAT.

P. N. DHOLAKIA,
Salabatpura, Memanwad,
SURAT.

Sirsi

A. D. SHAIKH,
C/o P. G. Library,
POST SIRSI,
(N. Canara).

Shada

MR. H. A. STATION MUKADAM,
C/o Akbarbhai Abdullabhai,
SHADA,
(W. Khandesh).

Travancore

MR. SHIRAZ,
C/o Haiderbhoy M. Sarapali,
SHADA,
(W. Khandesh).

S. L. LARIUS,
C/o S. L. Larius, Form VI A,
E. H. School,
SHERTALLAI (Travancore).

Any competitor whose name is not in the above list may ask for a scrutiny on payment of a scrutiny fee of Rs. 5, provided the entry is known to such competitor to be identical with the solution published.

Scrutiny requests must reach our office by 6 p. m. on 28th February, 1938.

Requests for scrutiny must be sent together with the payme nt of fees under Registered and Insured Covers with a covering letter agreeing to abide by the Competition Manager's scrutiny result as final.

In the event of an entry having been left out by oversight the above-mentioned distribution of the prize money will be readjusted accordingly.

Saturday's Races At Mahaluxmi

Manclare Scores In Rajpipla Gold Cup.

The racing on Saturday was of a high order of interest but taken all round it could not have been profitable for most people. In a lengthy programme of ten events only two actual favourites scored and such winners as Sir Amos, Karam Allah and Manclare cheered only the fortunate few who backed them.

An accident in the race for the Rajpipla Gold Cup involved the popular jockeys Munro and Rickaby. Whilst the former, who came down on Flying Glance, was only momentarily knocked out by the fall, Young Rickaby was not so fortunate. He was taken to the surgery in an ambulance and on examination, was found to have broken a collar-bone and sustained slight injuries to his head.

Harold Jones distinguished himself by riding three winners after a long run of losers. His handling of Rose Marie in the Heath Memorial Plate was a grand bit of horsemanship and he received a big ovation on steering this popular winner home. Well beaten last week in the Druds Lodge Handicap, Manclare was a neglected quantity in the Rajpipla Gold Cup, wherein Flying Glance, His Lordship and Gipsy Jack attracted the bulk of support. Pushed to the front early Manclare galloped resolutely to hold the late challenge of One I Love, ridden by Subbritt. The finish aroused onlookers to a high pitch of excitement for heads and necks separated the first four. Titanium and Zuyder Zee filled the second and third placings and the last named on this effort must soon be troubling the judge. Why fell near the two furlongs post bringing Rickaby down and Flying Glance when just coming through at this stage also fell on this pony.

FAVOURITE SCORES

There were never any doubts as to Fastnet's ability to win the C. N. Wadia Gold Cup and he wound up on "even" money favourite at the "off." The son of Pharas had to be hard ridden over the last bit to stop the challenge of Minstral who travelled very fast over the concluding furlong. Heritage II accounted for the beaten others.

In irresistible form at the moment My Billy, superbly handled by Jack Harding, beat Smart opposition in the Colaba Cup. In running the winner to a head after going out close home, Ticanto put up a fine performance. Who's Who also very well just now was "in the money." In front from Flag-fall he failed to stay over the last bit.

Plenty of excitement was poked into the finish of the Randwick Plate, run over a mile and a half. Thessex—a four year old gelding son of Tingo, Sherwood and Saxon Prince engaged in a grim struggle over the last furlong, the first named just getting through to land the spoils by a neck Sherwood held Saxon Prince for second place by a short head.

Jones rode a fine finish on Toltic to put him one length ahead of Fred Stephens in the Combermere Plate, Division 1 when the latter had looped all over a winner nearing the stands. Beau Barton slowly running himself into form again was third, but Brelan installed a warm favourite on the strength of his good work on the track, never shaped like a winner at any stage.

LONG PRICED WINNER

Ali Asker sent out the winner of Division II of the Combermere Plate. Sir Amoo carrying the jacket of the Raja of Bobbili, got home comfortably ahead of Lucullus who was very late on the scene after a difficult passage. Torquemada—an improving sort, ran very creditably to finish in the third placing. How's That, who is beginning to feel the effects of the strenuous season, did little to justify his favouritism.

Backers hit the mark when making Rose Marie, Late Melisande, their choice in the Heath Memorial Plate. Mr. Geminis' smart Indian mare scored easily at the expense of Pomme d'Or, Resolve and several others and this success will ensure her promotion to the "Starred" Class.

Thought likely to repeat a recent success in similar company, Poppy Day was made the favourite in the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Plate, but Mr. Chotani's aged grey found his penalty an effective stopper and the best he could do was to finish fourtn Victory belayed to Karam Allah who had no previous form this season to command him. He won at the forlorn odds of 31 to 1, beating Al Hamil easily by two and a half lengths. Fata Kashaf secured a minor placing and may soon find a winning opportunity.

Prince Hilal recorded an easy success in the Ali Bin Talib Memorial Plate. Division II involving in defeat the well favoured Sadran Manfi and some useful sprinters.

The Kolhapur establishment had better luck in the first division of this Plate for Iraq Bahadur, carrying the familiar orange livery came along to upset the odds laid against Wheel of Fortune. The favourite was not too well away and appeared to resent the early brushing his rider gave him to bring him up to the leaders.

The Daily Double paid Rs. 649-8 and the Daily Treble returned Rs. 612.

THE ALI BIN TALIB MEMORIAL PLATE. Div. II.—Distance 6 furlongs.

Winner Rs. 2,500, second Rs. 750, third Rs. 500. A Handicap for Arabs in Classes I and II

Messrs M. H. and A. H. Ahmedbhoy's PRINCE HILAL, 8-9, Evans 1
H. H. The Maharaja of Kolhapur's SADRAN MANFI, E. Britt 2
Mr. H. Fazalbhoy's MAJID PASHA, 8-7, Kasam Hasan 3
Mr. Sion F. Nessim's GREAT STAR, 8-9, Brace 4

Won by 2 lengths, 3 1|2 lengths, 1 3|4 lengths.

Tote paid Rs. 62 for win, Rs. 22, Rs. 22 and Rs. 66 for places.

Did not run Nur Jehan 9-0.

Time: 1 minute, 21 1|5 seconds

Winner trained by A. L. J. Talib.

Favourite Sadran Manfi.

THE ALI BIN TALIB MEMORIAL PLATE. Div. I.—Distance 6 furlongs.

Winner Rs. 6.000, second Rs. 2.000, third Rs. 1.000. A Handicap for Arabs in Classes I and II.

H. H. The Maharaja of Kolhapur's IRAQ BAHADUR, 9-0, Obaid 1
Mr. Manton's WHEEL OF FORTUNE, 7-12, Burn 2
Messrs Esmail Khalil and Moosa M. Hoosein's GREEN LAWN, 7-4, Whiteside 3
Mr. Mohammed Lahori's BAHAR NEEL, 8-6, B. McQuade 4

Won by 1|2 length, neck, head

Tote paid Rs. 58 for win, Rs. 27, Rs. 17 and Rs. 55 for places.

All ran.

Time: 1 minute, 21 seconds.

Winner trained by V. V. Powar.

Favourite: Wheel of Fortune.

THE HEATH MEMORIAL PLATE.—Distance 7 furlongs.

Winner Rs 4,000, second Rs. 1,250, third Rs. 750. A Handicap for Indian Horses in Class IV, other than those in Starred Class.

Mr. Gemini's ROSE MARIE, 10-2, Jones 1
Mr. A. Svamvur's POMME D'OR, 9-11, Munro 2
Mr. A. M. Khairaz's RESOLVE, 8-12, Obaid 3
Sir Homi Mehta and Sir Jamsetjee Duggan's VANITY FAIR, 9-2, Selby 4

Won by 2 lengths, 3 lengths. short head

Tote paid Rs. 28 for win, Rs. 17, Rs. 24 and Rs. 30 for places.

Did not run Premier 7-8, Cherie 8-4, Belle of York 7-5.

Time 1 minute, 28 2|5 seconds.

Winner trained by Dr. S. K. Pillay.

Favourites: Rose Marie and Tippu Sultan.

THE COMBERMERE PLATE. Div II.—Distance 6 furlongs.

Winner Rs. 3,500, second Rs. 1,250, third Rs. 500. A Handicap for Horses in Class III

The Raja of Bobbili's SIR AMOS 3-0, Meekings 1
H. H. The Maharani of Baroda's LUCULLUS 8-11 Selby 2
Mr. A. C. Strelley's TORQUEMADA 3-2 J. Flynn 3
Mrs. A. Svamvur's HOW'S THAT 7-12 Maxwell .. 4

All ran

Won by 1 length, 1-1|2 lengths, 1-1|4 lengths.

Time: 1min. 13 1|5secs.

Tote paid Rs. 50 for Win, Rs. 39, Rs. 19 and Rs. 50 for Places.

Winner trained by M. Ali Asker.

THE RANDWICK PLATE.—Distance about 1½ miles.

Winner Rs. 4,000, second Rs. 1,250, third Rs. 750. A Handicap for all Horses.

Mr. J. P. Avasia's TRESSEX 7-7 Gethin 1
Mr. J. E. Malone's SHERWOOD 7-10 Harding .. 2
Mr. Diamond's SAXON PRINCE 8-10 Munro 3
H. H. The Maharaja of Kolhapur's VIJAYA KUMAR II 8-5 E. Britt 4

Did Not Run:—Dichroic 8-12 Heritance 7-10.

Won by neck, short-head, head.

Time: 2mins. 39-2|5secs.

Tote paid Rs. 88 for Win, Rs. 33, Rs. 59 and Rs. 21 for Places.

Winner trained by N. E. Raymond.

THE SIR COWASJEE JEHANGIR PLATE.—Distance 1 mile, 1 furlong.

Winner Rs. 6,000, second Rs. 2.000, third Rs. 1,000. A Handicap for Arabs in Class I.

Mr. Hoosein Alwan's KARAM ALLAH 8-7 R. H. Jones .. 1
Mr. Sultan M. Chinoy's AL HAMIL 9-0 C Hoyt 2
Sir Homi Mehta's FATA KASHAF 7-12 Selby .. 3
Mr Osman Chotani's POPPY DAY 8-0 Britt 4

Did Not Run:—Bahar Neel 7-12 Al Ghazi 7-5, Taj Sultan 7-5.

Won by 2-1|2 lengths, 1|2 length 1 length

Time: 2mins. 4 3|5secs.

Tote paid Rs. 317 for Win Rs 87, Rs. 35 and Rs. 30 for Places

Winner trained by Syed Mustapha.

THE C. N. WADIA GOLD CUP.—Distance about 1½ miles

A Gold Cup value Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 18,500 from the fund. Winner the Gold Cup and Rs. 12,500, second Rs. 4,000 third Rs. 2,000.

Mr. E. Esmond's FASTNET 9-6 Rickaby 1
H. H. The Maharani of Baroda's MISTRAL 8-8 Selby 2
H. H. The Maharaja of Idar's HERITAGE II 9-0 Obaid .. 3
H. H. The Maharaja of Rajpipla's CARIOCA 8-8 Meekings 4

Did Not Run:—Finalist 9-1 and Talk 9-1.

Won by 1 length, 1-1|2 lengths 1 length.

Time: 2mins. 40secs.

Tote paid Rs. 17 for Win, Rs. 12, Rs. 14 and Rs. 18 for Places.

Winner trained by F. J. Pratt.

THE COLABA CUP.—Distance 1 mile.

A Cup value Rs. 750, or in specie at the option of the winner, and Rs. 10,000 from the Fund. Winner the Cup and Rs. 7,000. second Rs. 2,000, third Rs. 1,000. A Handicap for Horses in Class II.

Mr. M. N. Bilimoria's MY BILLY 8-0 Harding 1
Mr. F. H. Mehta's TICANTO 8-9 Selby 2
Mrs. A. Svamvur's WHO'S WHO 8-0 R. Bell 3
Mr. P. B. Avasia's BACHELOR'S BARD 8-9 Evans .. 4

All Ran.

Tote paid Rs. 77 for Win, Rs. 29, Rs. 41 and Rs. 91 for Places.

Winner trained by D. M. Mistry.

THE RAJPIPLA GOLD CUP.—Distance 1 mile.

A Gold Cup value Rs 2,500 presented by H. H. the Maharaja of Rajpipla and Rs 30,000 from the Fund. Winner, the Cup and Rs. 20.000, second Rs. 7,000, third Rs. 3,000. A Handicap for Horses in Class I

Mrs. Marbeth's MANCLARE 9-6 Marrable 1
H. H. The Maharaja of Kashmir's ONE I LOVE 7-11 Sibbritt 2
Mr. Diamond's TITANIUM 8-7 Maxwell 3
Nawabzada Fakrulmulk of Bhopal's ZUYDER ZEE 9-6 R. H. Jones 4

Did Not Run:—Finalist 9-13, Heritage II 8-5.

Tote paid Rs. 165 for Win, Rs. 50, Rs. 58 and Rs. 87 for Places.

Winner trained by R. Ryan.

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Messrs. R. P. Ebrahim and J. E. Malon's BEAU BARTON 8-5 Gethin 3
Raja Dhanrajgir's KNIGHT JILL 8-8 Evans 4

Did Not Run:—Bastion 9-0 and Bilnath 7-7.

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HITLER-SCHUSCHNIGG AGREEMENT

Complete List Of Conditions Published

VIENNA, February 19.

An official announcement, described as completing the list of measures agreed at Berchtesgaden, states that Austrian Nazis will have the opportunity of legal activities within the framework of Fatherland front, and in all other Austrian institutions, and that Germany will take measures to enforce the existing prohibition against interference in Austrian internal affairs.

A similar communique has been issued in Berlin.—Reuter.

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Congress Recognises Kisan Rights

Maulana Azad On Ever-Growing Strength Of National Organisation

NO OPPOSITION TO OFFICIAL RESOLUTION

(CONGRESS SPECIAL SERVICE).

VITHALNAGAR: February 19.

The Subjects Committee resumed sitting this morning at 9-50 for the fourth day in succession.

Delegates and visitors attending the Subjects Committee meeting literally had a dust-bath following a furious dust storm, which is passing over Vithalnagar just now.

Discussion on official resolution on Kisan Sanghs, moved by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad yesterday was resumed.

Before proceedings began, however, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose addressed the house in the following words:—

"Friends, I am very sorry for the delay in beginning our work this morning. The reason for this delay is that we had been trying to come to some understanding about several amendments which have been given notice of. If they are to be moved it would take a lot of time and unnecessary controversy will arise. But I am glad to inform you that an understanding has been arrived at and there will be no amendments. I hope we will dispose of discussions very quickly.

The President then called upon Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to speak on his resolution which was only moved formally yesterday.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that the political history of India had passed through several stages culminating in revolution in Congress ideology itself.

"This orientation in Congress ideology", he continued, "has been welcome as one of its direct results has been to bring considerable section of Indian masses in closer contact with Congress. But when millions join Congress, we will be much nearer to our goal. Already the Congress is much stronger than ever before and to-day it has spread its ramifications into the farthest corners of this vast subcontinent.

"But this development of the Congress has brought in its train several thorny problems and great difficulties and intricacies.

"This resolution seeks to deal with one of the many such difficulties.—United Press.

RIGHT OF KISANS

Maulana Azad asserted that the Congress recognised the rights of Kisans and their organisations. Congressmen, however, who worked among the Kisan Sabhas should scrupulously observe the principles and policy of the Congress and should not do anything contrary to such principles. Maulana Azad concluded by saying: "The Congress is growing and its strength is increasing day by day and its outlook has also undergone a definite change for the better. In view of the changes attending upon the Congress—its increase in size and change in outlook—it is essential that we should conduct ourselves to suit the changes."

UNANIMOUS SUPPORT

Acharya Kripalani formally seconding the resolution said that he was anxious to reply to the criticisms raised in the House with regard to his report to the A.I.C.C. relating to Kisan Sabhas. He wanted to defend himself as well as the Congress policy 'vis-a-vis' the Kisan Sabhas. But in view of the request made by his chief he had decided not to make a speech.

Mr. Subhas Bose, President, at this stage announced that as the result of negotiations it had been unanimously agreed that there should be no further discussions on the resolution nor on the amendments. He hoped the House would agree to proceeding to the next item, namely, the resolution amending the Congress Constitution.

The resolution about Kisans was thus unanimously passed.

This unexpected development caused a certain amount of disappointment to the supporters of Kisan Sabhas who had come prepared for "a stiff fight."

CHANGES IN CONSTITUTION

Acharya Kripalani then moved the resolution amending the Congress Constitution. He said the Constitution after the civil disobedience movement was amended in the Bombay Congress Session. Amendments then were made under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. However, practical difficulties were later revealed and a Sub-Committee was appointed to suggest further amendments. This Committee had made its recommendations and the Working Committee had approved of the same. He placed before the House over twenty changes made by the Sub-Committee.

The Congress attitude towards Burma was restated and redefined by new clause added to the Congress Constitution which was approved by the Subjects Committee.

The new clause removes Burma from the Congress provinces and creates a new "Burma Committee" working for the freedom of the people of Burma, Mr. Kripalani moved the new clause in the Constitution which reads:

"There shall be a Congress Committee with power to organise Subordinate Committees in accordance with the rules framed by it and approved by the Working Committee. The Burma Congress Committee stands for the freedom of the people of Burma.

Mr. Bose pointed out that the Congress had always recognised Burma as a part of India and the same policy would be continued.

PROBLEM OF BURMA

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru further explaining the Congress attitude said that the question of Burma was undoubtedly a difficult one. It was neither a province of India nor a part. "It will be absurd to say that the Burma Committee stands for the freedom of India and not of Burma. We do not want Burma as a colonial province of India." Pandit Nehru added that he was not attaching much importance to the fact of the separation of Burma. He always treated it from a realistic point of view. Conditions in Burma differed and most of the resolutions passed by the Congress had no bearing on them.

It would be wrong also to treat Burma as a foreign colony like Malaya where there was a large number of Indians. Burma's associations with India and the Congress was long. Unfortunately the majority of the Burma Congress Committee members were Indians and only a small number of Burmans participated in it. He hoped that more Burmans would join the Congress Committee. The present was only attempted to face reality and get over difficulties.

Acharya Kripalani's motion was accepted.

KHADI CLAUSE

The Khadi Clause in the Constitution making it obligatory for all office bearers and members of elective Congress Committees to wear Khaddar and the ban against non-wearers of khaddar raised a keen and lively debate.

Mr. Kameshwarrao, a Socialist, moved an amendment that village and town Congress Committees should be exempted from the operation of the Khadi Clause.

Mr. Balakrishna Sharma supporting the amendment said that in the U.P. there were numerous villages where the people were absolutely Congress-minded, but had no means to wear Khaddar. But for the Khadi Clause the villagers were cent per cent Congress-minded and prepared to go to any extent to carry on the Congress programme and policy. Rich people could afford to buy Khadi, buy even the Congress (laughter), but the poor man should not be made to buy this.

Mr. Kripalani opposed the amendment and said that Mahatma Gandhi was a very busy man and still had time to spin and wear khaddar. Why should others not have time?

Dr. Pattabi Seetaramayya suggested that all including members of Primary Committees and non-elective Committees should be made to wear Khadi.

Mr. Kameshwarrao's amendment was rejected, while Dr. Pattabi's suggestion was accepted by the mover and the Clause as amended by Dr. Pattabi was passed.

INDIRECT ELECTIONS

On a motion from Mr. Kripalani the House appointed a Committee consisting of Mr. Subhas Bose, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. Anantasayanam Ayyangar, Dr. Pattabi Seetaramayya, Acharya Kripalani, Mr. Achut Patwardhan and Mr. Kiron Shankar Roy with power to co-opt one member, to consider and frame rules concerning the following:

"(1) advisability or otherwise of indirect election of delegates,

(2) Genuine membership and proper elections,

(3) Suitability of territorial representation on A.I.C.C. and in provinces where it may be considered suitable, the method of such representation.

Recommendations of this Committee will be given effect to on being approved by the A.I.C.C."

This motion was carried.

At this stage the House adjourned to meet again at 9 a.m. to-morrow when further amendments to the Constitution will be considered.—A.P. Special.

CONGRESS AND KISANS

No Stormy Debate In Subjects Committee

(From Our Special Representative)

VITHALNAGAR, Feb. 19.

Contrary to expectations, there was no storm in the Subjects Committee on the Working Committee's resolution regarding Kisans, and excepting for Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's lucid explanation of the Congress position vis-a-vis Kisan and Kisan organization, there was no speech on the resolution. All those who had moved amendments withdrew even before Maulana Azad commenced his speech. One cannot get over the feeling that the ministerial crisis is directly or indirectly responsible for the comparative smooth-sailing of the official resolution. Movers of amendments held consultations with the President and the mover of the resolution and were satisfied with the Working Committee's resolution. That was how the Subject Committee was able to take up discussion of amendments to the Congress constitution. This lead to a dry and prolonged debate.

"Hindustan Times" Annual Number

NEW DELHI, Feb. 18.

A special annual number has been issued by "The Hindustan Times" in connection with the Haripura Congress. It includes important articles by leading politicians and some of the Premiers.

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, in an article under the caption "Federation—Real and Unreal", discusses the question from an official viewpoint.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose suggests the formation of an Indian Diplomatic Service in an article.

A series of eight cartoons by Mr. Shanker entitled "When Swaraj Comes" are a special feature of the special Number.—United Press.

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Office Acceptance: Only A Means

our country. Nevertheless I would beg my countrymen to consider what would be the wisest solution in the long run.

Population Problem

With regard to the long-period programme for a free India, the first problem to tackle is that of our increasing population. I do not desire to go into the theoretical question as to whether India is over-populated or not

I simply want to point out that where poverty, starvation and disease are stalking the land, we cannot afford to have our population mounting up by thirty millions during a single decade.

If the population goes up by leaps and bounds, as it has done in the recent past, our plans are likely to fall through. It will, therefore, be desirable to restrict our population until we are able to feed, clothe and educate those who already exist. It is not necessary at this stage to prescribe the methods that should be adopted to prevent a further increase in population, but I would urge that public attention be drawn to this question.

Rural Reconstruction

Regarding reconstruction, our principal problem will be how to eradicate poverty from our country. That will require a radical reform of our land-system including the abolition of landlordism

Agricultural indebtedness will have to be liquidated and provision made for cheap credit for the rural population. An extension of the co-operative movement will be necessary for the benefit of both producers and consumers. Agriculture will have to be put on a scientific basis with a view to increasing the yield from the land.

TO SOLVE THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM, AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT WILL NOT BE ENOUGH. A COMPREHENSIVE SCHEME OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER STATE-OWNERSHIP AND STATE-CONTROL WILL BE INDISPENSABLE.

A new industrial system will have to be built up in place of the old one which has collapsed as a result of mass production abroad and alien rule at home.

The planning commission will have carefully to consider and decide which of the home industries could be revived despite the competition of modern factories and in which sphere, large scale production should be encouraged.

However much we may dislike modern industrialism and condemn the evils which follow in its train, we cannot go back to the pre-industrial era, even if we desire to do so. It is well therefore that we should reconcile ourselves to industrialisation and devise means to minimise its evils and at the same time explore the possibilities of reviving cottage industries where there is a possibility of their surviving the inevitable competition of factories. In a country like India, there will be plenty of room for cottage industries, including hand-spinning and hand-weaving allied to agriculture.

Last but not least, the State, on the advice of a planning commission, will have to adopt a comprehensive scheme for gradually socialising our entire agricultural and industrial system in both the spheres of production and appropriation.

Office Acceptance

Opposing or resisting the provincial part of the Constitution

(Continued from Page 26.)

will be hardly possible now, since the Congress Party has accepted office in seven out of eleven provinces. All that could be done would be to strengthen and consolidate the Congress as a result of it.

I am one of those who were not in favour of taking office—not because there was something inherently wrong in doing so, not because no good could come out of that policy, but because it was apprehended that the evil effects of office acceptance would outweigh the good. To-day I can only hope that my forebodings were unfounded. Extra capital will have to be procured for this, whether through internal loans or external loans, or through inflation.

How can we strengthen and consolidate the Congress while our Ministers are in office? The first thing to do is to change the composition and character of the bureaucracy. If this is not done, the Congress Party may come to grief. In every country, the ministers come and go, but the steel-frame of the permanent services remains. If that is not altered in composition and character, the governmental party and its cabinet are likely to prove ineffective in putting their principles into practice. This is what happened in the case of the Social Democratic Party in post-war Germany and perhaps in the case of the Labour Party in Great Britain in 1924 and 1929. It is the permanent services who really rule in every country.

In India they have been created by the British and in the higher ranks they are largely British in composition. Their outlook and mentality is in most cases neither Indian or national. A national policy cannot be executed until the permanent services become national in outlook and mentality.

The difficulty, of course, will be that the higher ranks of the permanent services being, under the Statute, directly under the Secretary of State for India and not under the provincial Governments, it will not be easy to alter their composition.

Uniform Policy Needed

Secondly, the Congress ministers in the different provinces should, while they are in office, introduce schemes of reconstruction in the spheres of education, health, prohibition, prison reform, irrigation, industry, land-reform, workers' welfare, etc. in this matter, attempts should be made to have, as far as possible, a uniform policy for the whole of India. This uniformity could be brought about in either of two ways.

The Congress ministers in the different provinces could themselves come together—as the Labour ministers did in October, 1937, in Calcutta and draw up a uniform programme.

Over and above this, the Congress Working Committee, which is the supreme executive of the Congress, could lend a helping hand by giving directions to the different departments of the Congress-controlled provincial Governments in the light of such advice as it may get from its own experts.

THIS WILL MEAN THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE SHOULD BE CONVERSANT WITH THE PROBLEMS THAT COME WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF THE CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS IN THE PROVINCES. IT IS NOT INTENDED THAT THEY SHOULD GO INTO THE DETAILS OF ADMINISTRATION. ALL THAT IS NEEDED IS THAT THEY SHOULD HAVE A GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE DIFFERENT PROBLEMS SO THAT THEY COULD LAY DOWN THE BROAD LINES OF POLICY.

In this respect, the Congress Working Committee could do much more than it has hitherto done and unless it does so, I do not see how that body can keep an effective control over the different Congress ministries.

Shadow Cabinet

At this stage I should like to say something more about the role of the Congress Working Committee. This Committee, in my judgment, is not merely the directing brain of the national army of fighters for freedom. It is also the shadow cabinet of independent India and it should function accordingly.

This is not an invention of my own. It is the role which has been assigned to similar bodies in other countries that have fought for their national emancipation. I am one of those who think in terms of a free India—who visualise a national Government in this country within the brief span of our own life.

It is consequently natural for us to urge that the Working Committee should feel and function as the shadow cabinet of a free India. This is what President de Valera's Republican Government did when it was fighting the British Government and was on the run. And this is what the executive of the Wafd Party in Egypt did before it got into office. The members of the Working Committee while carrying on their day-to-day work should accordingly study the problems they will have to tackle in the event of their capturing political power.

Federal Fraud

More important than the question of the proper working of the Congress Governments is the immediate problem of how to oppose the inauguration of the Federal part of the Constitution. The Congress attitude towards the proposed Federal scheme has been clearly stated in the resolution adopted by the Working Committee at Wardha on February 4, 1938, which will be placed before this Congress after the Subjects Committee has considered it. That resolution says:

"The Congress has rejected the new Constitution and declared that a constitution for India which can be accepted by the people must be based on independence and can only be framed by the people themselves by means of a Constituent Assembly without the interference by any foreign authority. Adhering to this policy of rejection, the Congress has, however, permitted the formation in provinces of Congress Ministries with a view to strengthening the Nation in its struggle for independence. In regard to the proposed Federation, no such consideration applies even provisionally, or for a period, and the imposition of this Federation will do grave injuries to India and tighten the bonds which hold her under the subjection of an imperialist domination. This scheme of Federation excludes from the sphere of responsibility the vital functions of a Government.

"This Congress is not opposed to the idea of federation, but a real federation must, even apart from the question of responsibility, consist of free units, enjoying more or less the same measure of freedom and civil liberty and representation by Democratic process of election. Indian States participating in the Federation should approximate to the provinces in the establishment of representative institutions, responsible Government, civil liberties and the method of election to the Federal House. Otherwise Federation as it is now contemplated will, instead of building Indian unity, encourage separatist tendencies and involve the State in internal and external conflict.

"The Congress, therefore, reiterates its condemnation of the proposed scheme and calls upon provincial and local Congress Committees and the people generally as well as provincial Governments and Ministries, to prevent its inauguration.

"In the event of an attempt being made to impose it, despite the declared will of the people, such an attempt must be combated in every way and the provincial Governments and ministries must refuse to co-operate with it.

"In case such a contingency arises, the A. I. C. C. is authorised and directed to determine the line of action to be pursued in this regard."

I should like to add some more arguments to explain our attitude of uncompromising hostility towards the proposed Federation.

One of the most objectionable features of the Federal scheme relates to the commercial and financial safeguards in the new Constitution. Not only will the people continue to be deprived of any power over defence or foreign policy, but the major portion of the expenditure will also be entirely out of popular control. According to the budget of the Central Government for the year 1937-38, the army expenditure comes to 44.61 crores of rupees (£33,48 millions) out of a total expenditure of 77.90 crores of rupees (£58.42 millions) that is, roughly 57 per cent. of the total expenditure of the Central Government.

It appears that the reserved side of the Federal Government which will be controlled by the Govenor-General will handle about 80 per cent. of this Federal expenditure.

Moreover, bodies like the Reserve Bank and the Federal Railway authority are already created or will be created which will work as 'imperium in imperio' uncontrolled by a Federal legislature.

(Continued on Page 40.)

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SUBHAS INDICTS FEDERAL SCHEME

The legislature will be deprived of the powers it possesses at present to direct and influence railway policy and it will not have any voice in determining the currency and exchange policy of the country which has a vital bearing on its economic development.

Trade Restrictions

The fact that the external affairs will be a reserved subject under the Federal Government will prejudically affect the freedom of the Indian Legislature to conclude trade agreements and will severely restrict, in effect, fiscal autonomy. The Federal Government will not be under any constitutional obligation to place such trade agreements before the legislature for their ratification, even as they decline at present to give an undertaking to place the Indo-British trade agreement before the Indian Legislative Assembly.

The so-called Fiscal Autonomy Convention will have no meaning unless it is stipulated that no trade agreement on behalf of India shall be signed by any party without its ratification by the Indian legislature. In this connection, I should like to state that I am definitely of opinion that India should enter into bilateral trade agreements with countries like Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy and the United States of America with whom she has had close trade-relations in the past. But under the new Constitution, it will not be within the power of the Federal Legislature to force the Federal Government to enter into such bilateral trade agreements.

Iniquitous Safeguards

THE INIQUITOUS AND INEQUITABLE COMMERCIAL SAFEGUARDS EMBODIED IN THE ACT WILL MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANY EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO BE ADOPTED IN ORDER TO PROTECT AND PROMOTE INDIAN NATIONAL INDUSTRIES ESPECIALLY WHERE THEY MIGHT, AS THEY OFTEN DO, CONFLICT WITH BRITISH COMMERCIAL OR INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS.

In addition to the Governor-General's special responsibility to see that provisions with regard to discrimination, as laid down in the Act, are duly carried out, it is also his duty to prevent any action which would subject British goods imported into India to any kind of discriminatory or penal treatment.

A careful study of these stringent and wide provisions will show that India can adopt no measures against British competition which the Governor-General cannot, in effect, stultify or veto whether in the legislative or in the administrative sphere.

(Continued from Page 39.)

IT IS, OF COURSE, PREPOSTEROUS TO PERMIT FOREIGNERS IN THIS COUNTRY TO COMPETE WITH THE NATIONALS ON EQUAL TERMS AND THERE CAN BE NO GENUINE SWARAJ IF INDIA IS TO BE DENIED THE POWER TO DEVISE AND ADOPT A NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY INCLUDING THE RIGHT, IF HER INTERESTS SO REQUIRE, OF DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN NATIONALS AND NON-NATIONALS.

In a famous article in "Young India" under the caption "The Giant and the Dwarf" written soon after the conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in 1931 Mahatma Gandhi declared plainly that "to talk of no discrimination between Indian interests and English or European is to perpetuate Indian helotage. What is equality of rights between a giant and a dwarf?"

Even the meagre powers enjoyed by the Central Legislature at present to enact a measure like the reservation of the Indian Coastal trade for Indian-owned and Indian-managed vessels has been taken away under the so-called reformed Constitution.

Shipping is a vital industry which is essential for defensive as well as for economic purposes, but all the accepted and legitimate methods of developing this key industry including those adopted even by several British dominions, are henceforth rendered impossible for India. To justify such limitations on our sovereignty on the ground of "reciprocity" and "partnership" is literally to add insult to injury.

The right of the future Indian Parliament to differentiate or discriminate between nationals and non-nationals whenever Indian interests require it, should remain intact and this right we cannot sacrifice on any account.

Irish Example

I would, in this connection, cite the Irish parallel.

The Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1935 provides for a distinct Irish citizenship in connection with the electoral system, entry into public life, merchant shipping law, aircraft as well as in connection with special privileges which it is thought proper to reserve for Irish nationals, such as, for example, those conferred through measures for assisting Irish industry. Irish citizenship, in other words, is distinct from British, which cannot claim equal right in the State of Eire (or Ireland) on the basis of British citizenship which is not recognised there. I feel that India must similarly seek to develop her own distinct nationality and establish a citizenship of her own.

While on the question of fiscal autonomy and commercial safeguards, I might refer briefly to the need of an active foreign trade policy for India. India's foreign trade should be viewed not in a haphazard or piecemeal manner as is often done in order to provide some immediate or temporary benefits to British industry but in a comprehensive manner so as to coordinate India's economic development with its export trade on the one hand and its external obligation on the other.

The very nature of India's export trade makes it essential that it shall not have any restrictive agreement with England such as would jeopardise its trade with the various non-Empire countries which have been in several respects its best customers or such as would tend to weaken India's bargaining power "vis-a-vis" other countries.

It is unfortunate that the protracted negotiations for an Indo-British Trade Agreement, are still proceeding, while the Ottawa Agreement even after the expiry of its notice period and despite the decision of the Legislative Assembly to terminate it, still continues, and along with the differential duties on British steel and textiles the said Ottawa Agreement secures the prevailing advantages for British industries.

There is no doubt that under the existing political conditions, any trade agreement between England and India is bound to be of an unequal character because our present political relationship would weight the scales heavily in favour of England. There is also no doubt that the British preferential system is political in origin and before we permit non-Indian vested interests to be established or consolidated in this country under the shelter of a trade agreement, we should be careful as to its political repercussions and economic consequences. I trust that the present Indo-British Trade negotiations will not be allowed to impede the conclusion of bilateral trade agreements with other countries whenever possible and that no such trade agreement will be signed by the Government of India unless it is ratified by the Indian Legislature.

Fight Federation

From the above, it will be quite clear that there is no analogy between the powers of the Provincial Ministries and those of the proposed Federal Ministry. Moreover, the composition of the Federal Legislature is reactionary to a degree.

The total population of the Indian States is roughly 24 per cent. of that of the whole of India. Nevertheless, the rulers of the States, and not their subjects, have been given 33 per cent. of the seats in the Lower House and 40 per cent. in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature.

In these circumstances, there is no possibility, in my opinion, of the Congress altering its attitude towards the Federal Scheme at any time.

ON OUR SUCCESS IN RESISTING THE IMPOSITION OF FEDERATION BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL DEPEND OUR IMMEDIATE POLITICAL FUTURE. WE HAVE TO FIGHT FEDERATION BY ALL LEGITIMATE AND PEACEFUL MEANS—NOT MERELY ALONG CONSTITUTIONAL LINES—AND IN THE LAST RESORT, WE MAY HAVE TO RESORT TO MASS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, WHICH IS THE ULTIMATE SANCTION WE HAVE IN OUR HANDS.

THERE CAN BE LITTLE DOUBT THAT IN THE EVENT OF SUCH A CAMPAIGN BEING STARTED IN FUTURE, THE MOVEMENT WILL NOT BE CONFINED TO BRITISH INDIA, BUT WILL SPREAD AMONG THE STATES' SUBJECTS.

Organise Volunteers

o put up an effective fight in the near future, it is necessary to put our own house in order. The awakening among our masses during the last few years has been so tremendous that new problems have arisen concerning our party organisation.

Meeting attended by fifty thousand men and women are an usual occurrence now-a-days. It is sometimes found that to control such meetings and demonstrations, our machinery is not adequate.

Apart from these passing demonstrations, there is the bigger problem of mobilising this phenomenal mass energy and enthusiasm and directing them along proper lines. But have we got a well-disciplined Volunteer Corps for this purpose? Have we got a cadre of officers for our national service? Do we provide any training for our budding leaders, for our promising young workers? The answers to these questions are too patent to need elaboration. We have not yet provided all these requirements of a modern political party, but it is high time that we did.

A disciplined volunteer corps, manned by trained officers is exceedingly necessary. Moreover, education and training should be provided for our political workers so that we may produce a better type of leaders in future. This sort of training is provided by political parties in Britain through summer schools and other institutions—and is a speciality in totalitarian States.

With all respect to our workers who have played a glorious part in our struggle, I must confess that there is room for more talent in our party. This defect can be made up partly by recruiting promising young men for the Congress and partly by providing education and training for those whom we already have.

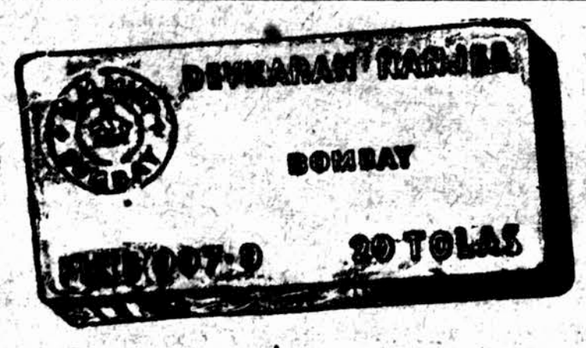
Everybody must have observed how some European countries have been dealing with this problem. Though our ideals and methods of training will be quite different from this. It will be admitted on all hands that a thorough, scientific training is a requisite for our workers, further an institution like the labour service corps of the Nazis deserves careful study and, with suitable modification may prove beneficial to India.

Kisan And Workers Organisations

While dealing with the question of enforcing discipline within our own party, we have to consider a problem which has been causing worry and embarrassment to many of us. I am referring to organisations like the Trade Union Congress and the Kisan Sabhas and their relations with the Indian National Congress.

There are two opposing schools

(Continued on Page 41.)



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Collective Affiliation For Workers & Peasants

of thought on this question—those who condemn any organisations that are outside the Congress and those who advocate them.

My own view is that we cannot abolish such organisations by ignoring or condemning them. They exist as objective facts and since they have come into existence and show no signs of liquidating themselves, it should be manifest that THERE IS AN HISTORICAL NECESSITY BEHIND THEM. Moreover, such organisations are to be found in other countries. I am afraid that whether we like it or not, we have to reconcile ourselves to their existence. The only question is how the Congress should treat them. Obviously, such organisations should not appear as a challenge to the National Congress, which is the organ of mass struggle for capturing political power.

They should, therefore, be inspired by Congress ideals and methods and work in close co-operation with the Congress. To ensure this, Congress workers should in large numbers, participate in trade-union and peasant organisations. From my own experience of trade union work I feel that this could easily be done without landing oneself in conflict or inconsistency.

Co-operation between the Congress and the other two organisations would be facilitated if the latter deal primarily with the economic grievances of the workers and the peasants and treat the Congress as a comon platform for all those who strive for the political emancipation of their country.

Collective Affiliation

This brings us to the vexed problems of the collective affiliation of workers' and peasants' organisations to the Congress.

PERSONALLY, I HOLD THE VIEW THAT THE DAY WILL COME WHEN WE SHALL HAVE TO GRANT THIS AFFILIATION IN ORDER TO BRING ALL PROGRESSIVE AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST ORGANISATIONS UNDER THE INFLUENCE AND CONTROL OF THE CONGRESS.

There will, of course, be difference of opinion as to the manner and the extent to which this affiliation should be given and the character and stability of such organisations will have to be examined before affiliation could be agreed to.

In Russia, the United Front of the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers played a dominant part in the October revolution—but, on the contrary, in Great Britain we find that the British Trade Union Congress exerts a moderating influence on the National Executive of the Labour Party. In India we shall have to consider carefully what sort of influence. Organisations like the Trade Union Congress and the Kisan Sabhas will exert on the Indian National Congress in the event of affiliation being granted and we should not forget that there is the possibility that the former may not have radical outlook if their immediate economic grievances are not involved. In any case, quite apart from the question of collective affiliation, there should be the closest co-operation between the National Congress and other anti-Imperialist organisations and this object would be facilitated by the latter adopting the principles and methods of the former

"There has been a great deal of controversy over the question of forming a party, like the Congress Socialist Party, within the Congress. I hold no brief for the Congress Socialist Party and I am not a member of it. Nevertheless I must say that I have

(Continued from Page 40.)

been in agreement with its general principles and policy from the very beginning. In the first place, it is desirable for Leftist elements to be consolidated into one party. Secondly a Leftist block can have "raison d'etre" only if its Socialist in character. There are friends who object to such a block being called a party, but to my mind it is quite immaterial whether you call that block a group, league or party. Within limits prescribed by the Constitution of the Indian National Congress it is quite possible for the Leftist block to have a Socialist programme, in which case it can be very well called a group, league or party. But the role of the Congress Socialist Party, or any other party of the same sort, should be that of a leftwing group. Socialism is not an immediate problem for us—nevertheless, Socialist propaganda is necessary to prepare the country for Socialism when political freedom has been won. And that propaganda can be conducted only by a party like the Congress Socialist Party, which stands for and believes in Socialism".

Foreign Policy

There is one problem in which I have been taking a deep, personal interest for some years and in connection with which should like to make my submission—I mean the question of a foreign policy for India and of developing international contacts. I attach great importance to this work because I believe that in the years to come, international developments will favour our struggle in India. But we must have correct appreciation of the world situation at every stage and should know how to take avantage of it. The lesson of Egypt stands before us as an example. Egypt won her Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain without firing a shot, simply because she knew how to take aovantage of the Anglo-Itailan tension in the Mediterranean.

In connection with our foreign policy, the first suggestion that I have to make is that we should not be influenced by the internal politics of any country or the form of its state. We shall find in every country, men and women who will sympathise with Indian freedom, no matter what their own political views may be. In this matter, I should take a leaf out of Soviet diplomacy. Though Soviet Russia is a communist state, her diplomats have not hesitated to make alliances with non-socialist States and have not declined sympathy or support coming from any quarter. We should, therefore, aim at developing a nucleus of men and women in every country who would feel sympathetic towards India.

To create and develop such a nucleus, propaganda through the foreign press, through Indian-made films and through art exhibitions would be helpful. The Chinese, for example, have made themselves exceedingly popular in Europe through their art exhibitions.

Above all, personal contacts are necessary. Without such personal contacts, it would be difficult to make India popular in other countries.

Indian students abroad could also help in this work, provided we in India look to their needs and requirements.

There should be closer contact between Indian students abroad and the Indian National Congress at home. If we could send out cultural and educational films made in India I am sure that India and her culture would become known and appreciated by people abroad. Such films would prove exceedingly useful to Indian students and Indian residents in other countries, who at present are like our non-official ambassadors.

Foreign Propaganda

I do not like the word 'propaganda'—there is an air of falsity about it. But I insist that we should make India and her culture known to the world. I say this because I am aware that such efforts will be welcomed in every country in Europe and America

If we go ahead with this work, we shall be preparing the basis for our future embassies and legations indifferent lands. We should not neglect Great Britain either. We have even in that country a small but influential group of men and women who are genuinely sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. Among the rising generation and students in particular interest in and sympathy for India is rapidly on the increase. One has only to visit the universities of Great Britain to realise that

To carry on this work effectively, the Indian National Congress should have its trusted agents in Europe, Asia, Africa and in North, Central and South America. It is a pity that we have so far neglected Central and South America where there is profound interest in India.

The Congress should be assisted in this work of developing international contacts by cultural organisations in India, working in the field of international culture and by the Indian Chambers of Commerce working in the sphere of International commerce.

Further, Indians should make it a point to attend every international Congress or conference. Participation in such conferences is a very useful and healthy form of propaganda for India

No Intrigue

While talking of international contacts, I should remove a misgiving which may be present in some minds. Developing international contacts does not mean intriguing against the British Government. We do not need go in for such intrigue and all our methods should be above board.

The propaganda that goes on against India all over the world is to the effect that India is an uncivilised country and it is inferred therefrom that the British are needed in order to civilise us.

As a reply, we have only to let the world know what we are and what our culture is like. If we can do that, we shall create such a volume of international sympathy in our favour that India's case will become irresistible before the bar of world opinion.

Indians In Colonies

I should not forget to refer to the problems, the difficulties and the trials which face our countrymen in different parts of Asia and Africa—notably in Zanzibar, Kenya, South Africa, Malaya and Ceylon. The Congress has always taken the keenest interest in their affairs and will continue to do so in future. If we have not been able to do more for them, it is only because we are still slaves at home. A free India will be a healthy and potent factor in world-politics and will be able to look after the interests of its nationals abroad.

I must in this connection stress the desirability and necessity of developing closer cultural relations with our neighbours—viz., Persia, Afghanistan, Nepal, China, Burma, Siam, Malaya States, East Indies and Ceylon.

It would be good for both parties if they knew more of us and we knew more of them, with Burma and Ceylon, in particular, we should have the most intimate cultural intercourse, in view of our age-long contacts.

Release Of Detenu s

Friends, I am sorry I have taken more of your time

(Continued on Page 42.)

THE

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Welcome On Behalf Of Gujarat Peasants

DARBAR GOPALDAS' ADDRESS AS CHAIRMAN OF RECEPTION COMMITTEE

(United Press Special).

VITHALNAGAR, February 19.

"My own faith in the old programme of 1921 is well-known, and in spite of the alteration in details that it has undergone, I think that it is that programme that is going ultimately to help us win our Freedom," said Sardar Gopaldas, Chairman of the Reception Committee, 51st Session of Congress, in the course of welcome address to delegates and visitors.

"WE'RE DISCIPLINED SOLDIERS"

The following is the full text of his short pronouncement, which incidentally can be taken to be the shortest address of a Chairman of the Reception Committee of a Congress Session in recent years.

"Friends, I do not know why an ordinary worker like me should have been made Chairman of the Reception Committee. There is one thing certain which is a common practice in Gujarat and it is this: that we are disciplined soldiers, ready to carry out the orders of our chief. You know Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. His general orders are that all the speech-making should be left to him, we have to work away silently. And yet, if I happen to be here, you must understand that it is at his behest. It is not for me to make a speech, political or other. The political pronouncement will be made by the President. My business is to welcome you to-day on behalf of Gujarat.

FAITH IN OLD PROGRAMME

"And welcoming you as I do on behalf of businesslike Gujarat, I will make only a brief businesslike speech. My own faith in the old programme of 1921 is well-known, and in spite of the alteration in details that it has undergone, I think that it is that programme that is going to ultimately help us win our Freedom. If the value of Truth and Non-violence, and of the constructive programme that they imply, was great for the initial stages of the struggle, it is greater whilst we have passed the middle stages and, God willing, are nearing the end of the journey. It is as a staunch believer in those basic principles and a humble soldier that I have the honour to welcome you on the bank of the Tapti.

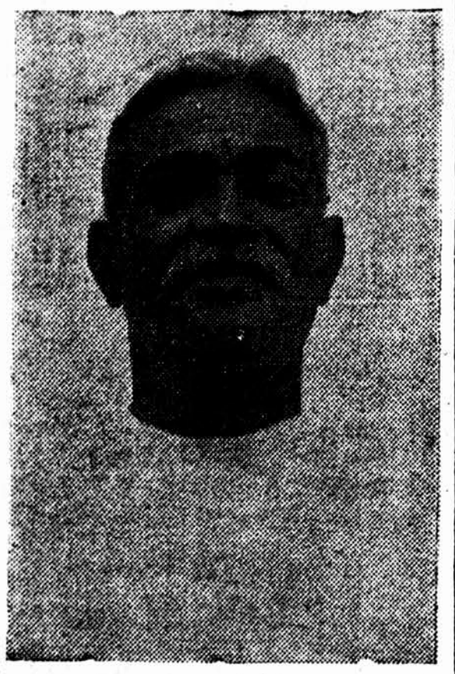
PEASANTS WHO MADE HISTORY

"Since last year we have begun to have Congress in villages. Faizpur had the first honour and we have had the benefit of the experience gained at Faizpur. But I do not know how far we have succeeded in making a full use of that experience. What you see here is the result of the labour of hundreds of devoted volunteer workers, two of whom have laid down their lives here. Not only Gujarat, but India mourns the loss of Pandit Khare whom all of us miss here so much. My share in the work here is negligible. It is not for me to say how far we have succeeded. It will be for you to give your verdict after the end of this session.

All I have to do to-day is to welcome you cordially on behalf of Gujarat, and especially on behalf of the peasants of Bardoli and Ras whose share has been not inconsiderable in making what history we have made.

And in giving you the welcome I would also beg to bear with our many shortcomings, to be content with what comforts we have been able to provide, and not to mind the discomforts we have not quite been able to avoid. We are blessed with the presidentship of one whose life is one unbroken record of sacrifice and service and suffering. He comes from a province which has on all the three previous occasions given Gujarat Presidents of the Congress, and which in suffering would easily take the first rank among the provinces of the country. I hope and pray that under the wise guidance of our President we may march further forward to our goal and add more glorious chapters to our history.

"Subhas Babu, I request you to take the Chair."



Durbar Gopaldas Desai, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

FEDERATION RESOLUTION PASSED

(Continued From Page 21)

ral villages in Ajmere-Merwara to some Indian States.

FOREIGN POLICY

The resolution on Foreign Policy and War Danger was then moved by Acharya Kripalani and supported by Acharya Narendra Deo to which an amendment moved by Mr. Kumaran suggested the addition of a new clause of the following lines:

"In case of an imperialist crisis in which Britain is involved, advantage should be taken for India's freedom."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru opposed this amendment which was lost by an overwhelming majority, after which the official resolution was carried unanimously.

Federation Resolution

Amidst loud cheers Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant next rose to move the resolution on Federation.

TORPEDO FEDERATION

In commending his resolution for acceptance by the Congress Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant said:

"Although there may be difference of opinion in the country in regard to many social or political issues, there are no two opinions in the whole country on the question of Federation which has to be resisted by all means That is the unanimous decision of the country Even temporarily we cannot tolerate Federation. We must torpedo it and Federation must be taken as a dead issue. We want a real Federation of all parts of India and we want the same independence for all parts of India. We are not opposed to Federation but Federation which has been devised to perpetuate the bondage of India and the imperialist hold on Indians and for draining the wealth of the country must be frustrated. For Federation of British India with autocratic States will be like a mixture of water and oil."

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai supported the resolution with a Gujerati speech.

FEDERATION RESOLUTION PASSED

After Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai had supported the resolution on Federation, it was passed by the House unanimously, not a single amendment being moved.—United Press Special.

INDIA FREED IS HUMANITY SAVED

(Continued from Page 41.)

than I had intended at first, but I am now nearing the end of my address. There is one other matter—the burning topic of the day—to which I should now draw your attention—the question of the release of detenus and political prisoners. The recent hunger-strikes have brought this question to the forefront and have focused public attention on it. I believe that I am voicing the feelings of at least the rank and file of the Congress when I say that everything humanly possible should be done to expedite release.

SO FAR AS THE CONGRESS MINISTRIES ARE CONCERNED, IT WOULD BE WELL TO NOTE THAT THE RECORD OF SOME OF THEM HAS NOT COME UP TO PUBLIC EXPECTATION. THE SOONER THEY SATISFY THE PUBLIC DEMAND, THE BETTER IT WILL BE FOR THE CONGRESS AND FOR THE PEOPLE WHO ARE SUFFERING IN PROVINCES RULED BY NON-CONGRESS MINISTRIES.

IT IS NOT NECESSARY FOR ME TO LABOUR THIS POINT AND I FERVENTLY HOPE THAT IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE THE PUBLIC WILL HAVE NOTHING TO COMPLAIN SO FAR AS THE RECORD OF THE CONGRESS MINISTRIES ON THIS POINT IS CONCERNED.

Appeal To Leftists

It is not only the detenus and political prisoners in jail and detention who have their tale of woe. The lot of those who have been released is sometimes no better. They often return home in shattered health, victims of fell diseases like tuberculosis. Grim starvation stares them in the face and they are greeted, not with the smiles but with the tears of their near and dear ones.

HAVE WE NO DUTY TO THOSE WHO HAVE GIVEN OF THEIR BEST IN THE SERVICE OF THEIR COUNTRY AND HAVE RECEIVED NOTHING BUT POVERTY AND SORROW IN RETURN?

LET US THEREFORE SEND OUR HEARTFELT SYMPATHY TO ALL THOSE WHO HAVE SUFFERED FOR THE CRIME OF LOVING THEIR COUNTRY AND LET US ALL CONTRIBUTE OUR HUMBLE MITE TOWARDS THE ALLEVIATION OF THEIR MISERY.

Friends, one word more and I have done. We are faced with a serious situation to-day. Inside the Congress there are difference between the Right and the Left which it would be futile to ignore. Outside there is the challenge of British Imperialism which we are called upon to face. What shall we do in this crisis?

Need I say that we have to stand four-square against all the storms that may beset our path and impervious to all the designs that our rulers may employ?

The Congress to-day is the one supreme organ of mass struggle. It may have its right bloc and its left—but it is the common platform for all anti-Imperialist organisations striving for Indian emancipation. Let us therefore rally the whole country under the banner of the Indian National Congress.

I would appeal specially to the Leftist group in the country to pool all their strength and their resources for democratising the Congress and reorganising it on the broadest anti-Imperialist basis. In making this appeal, I am greatly encouraged by the attitude of the leaders of the British Communist Party whose general policy with regard to India seems to me to be in keeping with that of the Indian National Congress.

In conclusion, I shall voice your feelings by saying that all India fervently hopes and prays that Mahatma Gandhi may be spared to our nation for many, many years to come. India cannot afford to lose him and certainly not at this hour.

We need him to keep our people united. We need him to keep our struggle free from bitterness and hatred. We need him for the cause of Indian Independence. What is more—we need him for the cause of humanity.

Ours is a struggle not only against British Imperialism—but against world imperialism as well, of which the former is the key-stone. We are, therefore, fighting not for the cause of India alone, but of humanity as well. India freed means humanity saved, "Bande Mataram".

FRANCO EVADES ISSUE

Britain's Appeal Against Air Raids Sidetracked

LONDON, February 18.

General Franco, in reply to the appeal regarding bombing of civilians from air, states that he takes note of the humanitarian initiative of the British Government but that he has no answer to that initiative.

General Franco expressed the regret of his administration at the loss of life and its attachment to humanitarian considerations.—Reuter.

VICEROY'S PROVOCATION

Socialist Says Release Of Prisoners Is No Act Of Charity

MADRAS, Feb. 18.

Mr. A. K. Pillai, Socialist leader, in a Press statement on the constitutional crisis, observes that the release of political prisoners is not to be an act of charity; for Congressmen in office it is but the discharge of an honourable an act of duty by their fellow-undertaking made to the country, fighters and incidently a test of real authority.

"Their present inability to release these men in spite of their efforts", Mr. Pillai adds. "has verily exposed the hallowness of the Provincial Autonomy. The Prime Minister of England could send out a King, but our Prime Ministers could not even release a prisoner.

Mr. Pillai concludes: "The interference of the Viceroy in so dictatorial and provocative a manner must disillusion those who navely imagined that the Governors and the Governor-General were already out of the picture".—United Press.

NEW YORK COTTON TEN POINTS UP

COTTON

LATEST NEW YORK COTTON PRICES

MARCH 1938

New York, Feb. 19.

Previous closing	8.90
To-day's opening	8.95
Difference	+.05
To-day's closing	9.00
Difference	+.10

LIVERPOOL COTTON

MARCH 1938

Liverpool, Feb. 19.

Previous closing	5.05
To-day's opening	4.97
Difference	—.08
To-day's closing	5.01
Difference	—04

BROACH EXPECTATION

New April May ..... Rs. 178

N. Y. COTTON MARKET

New York, Feb. 19.

New York cotton brighter Liverpool advices was chief factor casting better atmosphere on New York cotton market where buying operations abounded. Session opened with March at 8.95 i.e. five points higher than previous closing. Prices later improved further on scarcity of contracts and touched 8.98 finally closing at 9.00.

NEW YORK COTTON

New York, Feb. 19.

The following were the opening ranges:—

March (9.05/9.02) 8.95/8.95
May (9.15/9.14) 9.01/9.01
July (9.23/9.22) 9.09/9.09

LIVERPOOL COTTON

Liverpool, Feb. 19.

January (5.04) 5.01
March (5.11) 5.07
January (7.23) 7.18
March (7.27) 7.21

BROACH COTTON

Bombay, Feb. 19.

Broach cotton closed to-day.

LONDON MARKETS

London, Feb. 19.

The rates at 2-30 p. m. were as follows:—

TEA

Indian Pekoe (1) 1
Indian Pekoe higher (1-6 1/2) 1-6 1/2
Ceylon Pekoe (1-1 3/4) 1-1 3/4
Ceylon Pekoe higher (2-2) 2-2

JUTE

New Crop (18 9/16 sellers) 18 9/16 paid sellers
Dunlop January (£21) £21
Lightning January (£20) £20

RUBBER

Spot (7 1/8 buyers) 7 1/8 buyers
Forward April June (7 1/4 paid buyers) 7 1/4 paid value

LINSEED

Castorseed Bombay February March (£12 5/8 sellers) £12 5/8 sellers
Linseed Calcutta February March (£14 5/16 sellers) £14 1/4 sellers
Linseed La Plata February March (£12 5/8 sellers) £12 1/2 sellers
Groundnuts Coromandal March (£10 5/8 sellers) £10 5/8

LIVERPOOL WHEAT

Liverpool, Feb. 19.

Liverpool wheat opened market 88 1/4 May 87 5/8 July 87 market showed some improvement at the initial stage but later realising was in evidence and prices slackened.

CHICAGO WHEAT

Chicago, Feb. 19.

Chicago wheat market report unreceived.

EXCHANGES

LONDON-NEW YORK CROSS RATES

Latest Quotations

New York, Feb. 19.

Previous closing	5.02 1/4
To-day's opening	5.02 1/8
To-day's closing	5.01 7/8

T. T. LONDON ON NEW YORK

London, Feb. 19.

Previous closing	5.02.60
To-day's opening	5.02.45
To-day's closing	5.02.02

FRANC RATE

London, Feb. 19.

Previous closing	152.81
To-day's opening	152.81
To-day's closing	152.81

LONDON EXCHANGES

London, Feb. 19.

London exchanges opened steady with sterling dollar at 5.02.45 and gradually eased on liquidation to 5.02.05.

Franc opened 152.81 market moved erratically either way.

CROSS RATES

London on Bombay (1-6 1/8) 1-6 1/8
Paris on Bombay (11.497) 11.536
New York on Bombay (38.01) 37.98
Berlin on Bombay (0.93 3/4) 0.93 3/8
London on Milan (95.71) 95.43
London on Shanghai (1-2 7/32) 1-2 7/32
London on Kobe (1-2) 1-2

DISCOUNTS

3 months (9/16 to 5/8 per cent) 9/16 to 5/8 per cent.
4 months (9/16 1/8 to 9/16 per cent) 9/16 per cent to 5/8 per cent.
6 months 9/16 to 5/8 per cent) 9/16 to 5/8 per cent.

LONDON METALS

To-day's opening rates were as follows:—

Tin (£185 buyers £185 1/4 sellers) closed
Lead (£15 1/2 buyers £15 9/16 sellers) closed
Electrolytic Copper (£44 1/4 to £45 1/4) closed

SILVER CABLES

Bombay, Feb. 19.

The following cable information was received from London:—

"Small speculative purchase forward small business market quietly steady."

LONDON SILVER

London, Feb. 19.

Spot	(19 15/16d.) 19 15/16d.
Forward	(19 5/8d.) 19 11/16d.

LONDON GOLD

London, Feb. 19.

London Gold Fine per ounce (£6-19-10) £6-19-10.

LIVERPOOL WHEAT

Closing Quotation

Liverpool, Feb. 19.

Liverpool wheat market closed at 88 3/4

WHEAT AND LINSEED

Closing Quotation

Bombay, Feb. 19.

5-30 p.m. quotations:—	Rs. a. p
Wheat May	closed
Wheat September	closed
Linseed May	closed
Linseed September	closed

3½ P. C. GOVT. PAPER

Sharp Decline

Bombay, Feb. 19.

The 3 1/2 per cent Government paper was quoted Rs. 97-4-0 at 4 p.m.

MONEY MARKET FEATURELESS

(SPECIAL CABLE.)

LONDON, Feb. 19.

The Money Market, in the past week was featureless apart from a further easing of the short loan position, which was partly due to the small percentage of allotments secured by the market at the recent Treasury tenders, and partly owing to the reduced Stock Exchange demand for accommodation.

Moreover, the supply of bank cash also expanded the latest Bank of England return revealing that bankers deposits now total £106 1/2 million, which is 16 million higher than a year ago.

Wall Street opened irregular.

BOMBAY BULLION

Bombay, Feb. 19.

3 p.m. quotation—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Silver ready	50	2	0
Silver Magh	50	3	0
Silver Fagan	50	11	0
Gold ready	34	7	6
Gold Fagan	34	6	6
Gold Chaitra	34	6	0
Sovereign	22	7	0

LONDON STOCK EXCHANGE

London, Feb. 19.

Market was closed.

NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE

New York, Feb. 19.

To-day's opening rates were as follows:—

U S Steel Common (dol 55 5/8) dol 52 7/8
General Motors (dol 35 3/4) dol 34 3/8
Anaconda Copper Mining (dol 33 5/8) dol 32 1/2

BROWN BOLD LINSEED

(Through Bombay Grains and Seeds' Association.)

Bombay, Feb. 19.

	Rs. a. p.
Rates at 11-0 a.m.	closed
Rates at 12-0 noon	closed
Rates at 3-0 p.m.	closed
Rates at 5 p.m.	closed

LONDON MARKET QUOTATIONS

Bombay, Feb. 19.

London Market—

Standard copper cash (buyers)	£40-10-0
Standard copper 3 months	£40-15-0
Electrolytic copper	£45-5-0

Bombay Market:—

Yellow metal sheets	Rs. 39-8-0
Copper sheets	Rs. 44-8-0

Tone:—Firm.

NEW YORK COTTON DAILY STATISTICS

New York, Feb 18

Day's receipts at all U S Ports	48,000 bales
Day's exports to Great Britain	nil
Day's exports to the Continent	4,000 bales
Day's exports to China and Japan	18,000 bales

LIVERPOOL COTTON

Liverpool, Feb 18

February	5.03
March	5.05
April	5.08
May	5.11
June	5.14
July	5.17
August	5.19
September	5.21
October	5.24
November	5.25
Middling Spot	5.16

10-12 a.m. quotations

March	5.02
May	5.08

EGYPTIAN COTTON

Liverpool, Feb 18

F G F Spot	8.53

INDIAN COTTON

Liverpool, Feb 18

BROACH—	
Fully good (good staple)	4.22
Fine (good staple)	4.37
Superfine (good staple)	4.52
OOMRA—	
Fine (No. 1 staple)	4.34
Superfine (No. 1 staple)	4.49
Choice (No. 1 staple)	4.64
BENGA—	
Good	3.60
Fully good	3.70
Fine	3.85

MONEY MARKET

Bombay, Feb 19

B. C. RATES—
T T D D 1/6 1/16
LONDON—
Bank's selling T T D D 1/6 3/32
Bank's buying T T 1/6 5/32
Bank's buying D D 1/6 3/16
Bank's buying 3 months 1/6 7/32
NEW YORK—
Bank's selling T T 264 3/4
Bank's buying T T 262 5/8
PARIS—
Bank's selling T T 1,144
Bank's buying T T 1,164
JAPAN—
Bank's selling T T 77 1/2
Bank's buying T T 77
AMSTERDAM—
Bank's selling D D 67 1/4
JAVA—
Bank's selling D D 67 1/8
HONGKONG—
Bank's selling D D 83 1/2
SHANGHAI—
Bank's selling D D 79 1/2
SINGAPORE—
Bank's selling D D 156 1/4
BERLIN—
Bank's selling D D 92 1/4

CROSS RATE—

New York London 5.02 1/4 18th instant
Japan London 1/2 19th instant
Hongkong London 1/3 1/16 19th instant
Shanghai London 1/2 1/4 19th instant
Java London 8.94 3/4 19th instant
London Paris 152.81 18th instant
London Belgium 29.54 18th instant
London Switzerland 21.60 1/2 18th instant
London Berlin 12.40 1/4 18th instant
London Stockholm 19.40 1/8 18th instant
London New York 5.02.60 18th instant
London Amsterdam 8.96 3/4 18th instant
London Italy 95.55 18th instant
Tone of Sterling Exchange:—Steady.
Gold £6-19-10 17th instant
Gold £6-19-10 18th instant
Silver London Ready 19 15/16 17th instant
Silver London Ready 19 15/16 18th instant
Silver London Forward 19 5/8 17th instant
Silver London Forward 19 5/8 18th instant
Silver New York Ready 45 17th instant
Silver New York Ready 45 18th instant
London discounts 3 months 9/16 per cent 17th instant
London dscounts 3 months 9/16 per cent 18th nstant
London discounts 6 months 5/8 per cent 17th instant
London discounts 6 months 5/8 per cent 18th instant
Reserve Bank Rate 3 per cent.
Bank of England Rate 2 per cent.
Money:—
Call 1/2 per cent
3 months 1 per cent.
6 months 1 1/4 per cent.
Tone: Easy.

LONDON PRODUCE

London, Feb 18

Wheat Rozario Santa Fe parcels Feb Mar sellers 50/9
Wheat Barletta Russo parcels Feb Mar sellers 41
Wheat South Australian parcels March sellers 36/9

LINSEED OIL

London, Feb 18

Linseed oil London per cwt naked March sellers 27/6
Linseed oil London per cwt naked May Aug sellers 27/4 1/2

LONDON RUBBER

London, Feb 18

Smoked Sheets Standard Ribbed per lb Sellers 7 1/16

NEW YORK COFFEE

New York, Feb 18

Fair rio coffee No. 7 quality ... 6 1/8

Astronomer (to new assistant): "Remember . . any new planet you discover while in our employ remains the property of this observatory. . ."

A farmer ordered a bathtub. It was promptly dispatched, but went astray. On its arrival the farmer refused to accept it.

"I ordered that bathtub three months ago," he wrote, "and now winter is here and the bathing season is over. You can exchange it for a stove, or keep it. I have no use for it."

SPORTING CHANCE TO VICEROY

Congress Not To Precipitate Crisis

Authorises Working Committee To Meet Situation As It Arises

HARIPURA, FEB. 19.

The Congress Working Committee adopted a five page resolution which traces the history of the events since the elections last year, strongly disapproves of the hunger-strike of the political prisoners and authorises the Working Committee to take such action as is necessary to deal with the crisis that has arisen in U. P. and Bihar, and get the sanction of the All-India Congress Committee at a later date, for whatever action the Committee feels necessary to be taken.

With regard to the Ministerial crisis, the resolution states, "The Congress does not desire to precipitate a crisis, which may involve non-violent non-co-operation and direct action, consistent with the Congress policy of truth and non-violence.

No More Resignations Now

Congress is, therefore, at present reluctant to instruct the Ministers in other provinces to send in their resignations by way of protest against the Governor-General's action, and invties His Excellency the Governor-General to reconsider his decision, so that the Governors may act constitutionally and accept the advice of their Ministers, in the matter of the release of political prisoners.

No Freedom Till Act Is Ended

Whatever may be the ultimate result of the present crisis, the people of India should realise that there can be no true freedom for the country, so long as this Act is not ended and a new constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly elected on an adult franchise basis takes its place."—A.P. Congress Special.

FULL TEXT OF RESOLUTION ON MINISTERIAL CRISIS

"In accordance with the direction of the Faizpur Congress, the All-India Congress Committee decided in March 1937 the issue of acceptance of office in the provinces, and permitted Congressmen to form ministries, provided certain assurances were given by or on behalf of the British Government. These assurances not being forthcoming, the leaders of the Congress parties in the Provincial Assemblies declined at first to form ministries. Thereafter, there was considerable argument for some months regarding these assurances, and various declarations were made by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governors of the Provinces. In these declarations, it was definitely stated among other things, that there would be no interferences with the day to day administration of provincial affairs by responsible ministers.

GOVERNORS DELAY RELEASE

The experience of office by the Congress Ministers in the provinces had shown that at least in two provinces, the United Provinces and Bihar, there has in fact been interference in the day to day administration of provincial affairs as shown hereafter. The Governors, when they invited Congress members to form Ministries knew that the Congress election manifesto had mentioned the release of political prisoners as one of the major items of the Congress policy.

In pursuance thereof, the Ministers began the release of political prisoners, and they soon experienced delay which was sometimes vexatious, before the Governors would endorse orders for the release. The way the releases have been repeatedly delayed is evidence of the exemplary patience of the Ministers. In the opinion of the Congress, the release of prisoners is a matter coming essentially within the purview of day to-day administration which does not admit of protracted discussion with Governors.

The function of the Governor is to guide and advise the ministers, and not to interfere with the free exercise of their judgment in discharge of their day to day duty. It was only when the time came for the Working Committee to give an annual account to the Congress delegates and to the masses of people backing them, that the committee had to instruct the ministers who were themselves sure of their grounds, to order the release of political prisoners in their charge and to resign, if their orders were countermanded. The Congress approves of and endorses the action taken by the ministers of the United Provinces and Bihar and congratulates them on it.

NO MENACE TO PEACE.

In the opinion of the Congress, the interference of the Governor-General with the deliberate action of the respective Prime Ministers is not merely a violation of the assurance above referred to, but it is also a misapplication of section 126 (5) of the Government of India Act.

There was no question of a grave menace to peace and tranquillity involved. The prime ministers had besides, in both cases, satisfied themselves from assurances from the prisoners themselves and otherwise of their change of mentality and acceptance of the Congress policy of non-violence. Indeed, it is the Governor-General's interference which has undoubtedly created a situation that may easily in spite of the Congress to the contrary, become such a grave menace.

The Congress has, during the short period that Congressmen have held office, given sufficient evidence of their sacrifice, administrative capacity and constructive ability in the matter of enacting legislation for the amelioration of the economic and social evils. The Congress gladly admits that a measure of co-operation was extended by the Governors to the ministers. It has been a sincere effort on the part of the Congress to extract what is possible from the act for the public good and to strengthen the people in pursuit of their goal of complete independence and the ending of the imperialistic exploitation of the masses of India.

The Congress does not desire to precipitate a crisis which may involve non-violent non-co-operation and direct action consistent with the Congress policy of truth and non-violence. Congress is, therefore, at present reluctant to instruct ministers in other provinces to send in their resignations by way of protest against the Governor-General's action, and invites His Excellency the Governor-General to reconsider his decision, so that the Governors may act constitutionally and accept the advice of their ministers in the matter of the release of political prisoners.

The Congress regards the formation of irresponsible ministries as a way of disguising the naked rule of the sword. The formation of such ministries is calculated to rouse extreme bitterness and internal quarrels and further deepen the resentment against British Government. When the Congress approved of acceptance of office with great reluctance and considerable hesitation, it had no misgiving about its own estimate of the real nature of the Government of India Act.

The latest action of the Governor-General justifies that estimate, and not only exposes the utter inadequacy of the Act to bring real liberty to the people, but also shows the intention of the British Government to use and interpret it not the expansion of liberty, but for its restriction. Whatever therefore, may be the ultimate result of the present crisis, the people of India should realise that there can be no true freedom for the country, so long as this Act is not ended and a new constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise takes its place. The aim of all Congressmen, whether in office or out of office, in legislatures or out of legislatures, can only be to reach that goal, even though it may mean, as it often must mean, the sacrifice of many a present advantage, however beneficial and worthy it might be for the time being.

On behalf of the United Provinces' Governor, it had been stated that the demonstrations organised to welcome the Kakori prisoners and the speeches delivered by some of them had interfered with the policy of gradual release of political prisoners. The Congress has always discouraged unseemly demonstrations and other objectionable activities. The demonstrations and speeches referred to by the U. P. Governor were strongly disapproved by Mahatma Gandhi. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Congress, had similarly taken immediate notice of the indiscipline which was thus betrayed. Nor were they ignored by the ministers. As the result of these corrective steps, public opinion rapidly changed and even the persons concerned came to realise their mistake. And when six prisoners, one of whom was a prominent member of the Kakori group were released subsequently about two months after the release of the Kakori prisoners, no demonstrations were held in their honour, nor any reception accorded to them.

Nearly four more months have since elapsed, and any delay in releasing the remaining fifteen prisoners, only on account of demonstrations or speeches connected with the prisoners released in August is now utterly unjustified. The responsibility for the maintenance of law and order is that of the ministers, and they are entitled to perform their functions in such manner as they deem proper. It is their business to weigh all the relevant factors in the light of prevailing circumstances, but their decision once taken ought to be accepted and enforced. Any interference with them in the exercise of their powers in the normal day to day administration is bound to undermine and weaken their position.

Congress Ministers have more than once declared their determination to take adequate action in the matter of violent crime and the risk run in releasing prisoners specially when they have abjured the path of violence, is altogether imaginary.

The Congress has given during the past few months ample evidence of its desire to take severe notice of indiscipline and breach of the code of non-violence that Congress has laid down itself. Nevertheless, the Congress invites the attention of Congressmen to the fact that indiscipline in speech and action calculated to promote or breed violence retards the progress of the country towards its cherished goal.

In pursuit of its programme of release of political prisoners, Congress has not hesitated to sacrifice office and the opportunity of passing ameliorative measures But the Congress wishes to make it clear that it strongly disapproves of hunger-strikes for release. Hunger-strikes embarrass the Congress in the pursuit of its policy of securing the release of political prisoners. The Congress, therefore, urges those who are still continuing their hunger-strike in the Punjab to give up their strike and assures them that whether in provinces where Congressmen hold ministerial offices or in other provinces, Congressmen will continue their efforts to secure the release of detenus and political prisoners by all legitimate and peaceful means.

In view of the situation that has arisen in the country, the Congress authorises the Working Committee to take such action as it may consider necessary, and to take the direction of the All-India Congress Committee in dealing with the crisis, whenever necessity arises for it.—**A. P. Congress Special Service.**

PRISONERS RELEASED FROM JAIL

Magistrate's Advice To Lead Honest Life

SALEM, Feb. 19.

In pursuance of the order of the Local Government a batch of about 67 prisoners belonging to various Districts in the Presidency was released from the Central Jail at Salem yesterday.

The District Magistrate who was present at the time of the release for explaining the object which Government had in view in releasing them before the expiry of the sentences advised them to lead the lives of honest and law abiding citizens.—A. P.

The Congress Government Of U. P.

and subsequent legislation, the older method of realisation of arrears by orders and processes has been stayed.

Rural Reconstruction

Rent, revenue and rural indebtedness are only parts of an organic whole. The Ministry of Development has formulated a comprehensive scheme of Rural Reconstruction, covering all the villages in the province with their many-sided needs and demands. This scheme has legitimately earned universal approval. It is in operation in a very large number of villages. The structure is pyramidal with a broad-base and only a pointed peak. Twelve hundred young men with missionary zeal to compensate their low wages have been appointed to their post as village organisers It will be their business to stimulate the villagers to organise themselves through panchayats, gramsevaks and pracharaks. The ancient Indian tradition of the Panchayat is sought to be revived and all local needs are to be satisfied by local agencies. After intensive training in different centres the organisers are abroad to teach the villagers the lessons of self-help in sanitation, communication, education, agriculture and the like. The village societies are gathered into tehsil-unions, district associations, divisional organisations in an ascending series till they reached the office of the Rural Development Officer working under the Ministry of Development. In the budget, a sum of Rupees 14 lakhs has been provided for, a drop in the ocean no doubt. yet additional grants are always forthcoming.

In matters relating to the scientific improvement of agriculture, rural self-help is only of the items. The initiative has to come from the Government and it has come. In collaboration with the Department of Irrigation, chiefly its hydro-electric branch, and of the veterinary, broad operations are to be launched for the introduction of new crops conversion of the usar-lands, improvement of tillage practice and of animal husbandry. The Fruit Development Board is functioning well If the Potato Research Farm materialises, and the quality of cattle improves, the amount of money earmarked for them will have been well spent indeed.

Needs Of Labour

Industries in the U. P. present two problems. For the solution of the Capital. Labour dispute, an Enquiry Committee is pursuing its task amidst vicissitudes. But the Government cannot remain patient. They have formulated a Bill which provides for the prevention and settlement of disputes by conciliation. Therein, it shall be the duty of the Labour Officer to watch the interests of the workmen with a view to promote harmonious relations between employers and workmen, and to represent the latter's grievances to the former for redress. The Labour officer has been given certain powers to acquaint himself with facts in order that he might not be unjust to either party. He will be assisted by his conciliators. If any trade dispute exists or is apprehended various courses have been thrown open, none of which prevent the growth of trade unionism, on the one hand, and unnecessarily injure the interests of the employers on the other. The Government do not propose to step in only in the last ditch.

(Continued from page 20)

Sugar Industry

The second industrial problem of the U. P. relates to sugar. Between the U. P. and Behar 85 per cent. of the entire yield of sugarcane is shared. Crores of rupees have been invested in this enterprise. The industry grew at a very fast rate and paid the penalty. The pace could not be maintained for long unless the growth was planned. There was serious danger of over-production with consequential maldistribution. Sugar production was not always scientific, marketing was badly organised, and, above all, the disparity between the interests of the cane-grower and the sugar manufacturers was increasing by leaps and bounds. The U. P. Congress Government realised the deficiencies of the system at once and acted quickly in the following manner: (i) The collaboration between the U. P. and Behar was needed, and it was achieved by a common Board for the two provinces (ii) unfair competition had to be removed, and the Sugar Syndicate was recognised as an integrating influence (iii) the interests of the cane-growers had to be protected by the Government, and this was done, with the minimum injury to the commercial interests, by fixing the minimum price of cane. The Sugar Factories Control Bill has passed its third reading. Once enacted, it will license purchasing agents, assure the distribution of seed cane to the growers or their co-operative societies, and save the peasants from the rapacity of unscrupulous people. Their interests are supreme in the heart of the Government.

Cottage industries, like Khadi, Gur, raw-hide, glass, and various arts and crafts have not been neglected. Ample provisions have been made for their revival and reconstruction.

Local Self-Government

An Expert Committee on local self-government has just finished its work. The deliberations cover the entire area of local self-government. All municipalities come within their purview, but emphasis was ordered by the Premier and the Minister for local self-government to be placed on village panchayats, Elective principles, franchise, voting, electoral rolls, qualifications and disqualifications of members, their removal, appointment of Chairmen, Governmental control, their functions and powers, particularly in the matter of sanctions, advisory councils, finance—in fact, all the details will have been discussed by now. The relations of the local bodies to the functions of the two cognate departments of Public Health and Education is going to be scrutinised. The Committee is determined to base the local administration on the initiative of the people to be exercised through their own committees and assemblies.

Prohibition

While prohibition is to be tried in select areas, corruption is to be crushed in all. The excise policy of the U. P. Government is in consonance with the Congress decision.

In education, the policy of the Government has a definite rural bias. Rupees twenty thousand have been given for the establishment of rural libraries, and another considerable amount is earmarked for the depressed classes. Seva-samities, boy scouts, girl guides associations are encouraged. The whole system of grant-in-aids is under review.

For the first time in the history of India a member of the U. P. Assembly can exercise his natural right to express himself in Hindustani. The language question in the legislature has been satisfactorily solved for the purpose of communication at least. The Speaker, the Babu Purushottamdas Tandon, a Hindi scholar of note, has thus given an impetus to the 'lingua franca' of India which will not exhaust itself within the four walls of the Chamber. With the forward policy of the Education Minister it is sure to effect the entire system of Education in these provinces.

The review has been sketchy. It has not taken into consideration the Entertainments and Betting Tax Bills, the Amendment to the U. P. Municipalities Act II of 1916 which broadened the basis of franchise, the Agra Tenancy Amendment Bill, regulating abatement of rents and extending this scope from the two districts of Azamgarh and Benares to the whole of province, the Courts of Wards Bill, by which the accounts of the Courts of Wards are to be audited by Government auditors only. the United Provinces Muslim Waqfs Amendment Bill, legalising the appointment of provincial commissioners, and a few others. These bills were all shaped in the latter part of 1937.

Is all this work an achievement or a promise? The Congress Government are not proud, but ambitious, in the right direction, viz., the service of the people. They have solemnly pledged themselves to the goal of "Purna Swaraj" and mean to achieve it by non-violent means. The next forward step is the Constituent Assembly which the present Government is determined to take as soon as the time is opportune. In the meanwhile, the Congress Government of the United Provinces must needs consolidate their position with the help of the new life and hope which they can rightly claim to have created and kindled

---

Mike was going to Dublin for the first time, and his friend Pat was giving him a few hints on what to do and where to go in the big city

"What do I do when I go to the Zoo?" asked Mike

"You be careful about the Zoo," advised Pat. "You'll see grand animals if you follow the words 'To the Lions' or 'To the Elephants,' but take no notice of the one, 'To The exit." Mike. It's a fraud, and it's outside I found myself when I went to look at it."

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The Dawn Of A New Era

HAS INDIA ANY MISSION TO FULFIL IN THE WORLD OF THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE?

By SWAMI VISHWANAND

Whosoever cares to study the affairs of the world of to-day is struck by the boldness and novelty of the ideology of the men and women of this generation. The youths are out to create a new world. Everywhere there is a tendency to break away from the past. "Go ahead"—this is the slogan in the air. The unchanging East is changing and the ever-changing West is wondering. Automobiles have made their appearance in the deserts of Arabia. Bobbed-haired Chinese and Indian girls are fighting for their right. In spite of the loud protests of the conservative section, the youths are forging ahead. Can anybody a:n his senses deny that we see around us the dawn of a new era? And the scientists have come forward and are playing their part in ushering in this new era. Who could dream a hundred years back that one can journey as comfortably in air as on the high sea in a luxury liner? Who could have believed fifty years ago that a speech delivered in London and Berlin could be heard distinctly in Bombay and Calcutta?

Lessons Of War Forgotten

The earth is shrinking in size, men and women belonging to different countries are rubbing shoulders in their work-a-day life. Contact is creating conflict. Yearning for ever-lasting life and hunger and thirst for knowledge of eternal verities being ruled out of order, the moderner is being dragged more and more in the arena of political and economic struggle. What is invisible is unreal seems to be the line of thinking of the progressive section of humanity. Why then worry about the great Beyond and the enigma of the grave? No wonder the moderner with all his rationalism and intellectualism is fast degenerating into a pleasure-seeking animal and money-making machine. Few believe in the ethics of altruism. Materialism in metaphysics and individualism in economics is the prevailing philosophy of life. With this philosophy dominating the outlook of men and women all over the world, scrambling for the good things of the world is inevitable. And the world has not got inexhaustible mines of good things. This is why we find soul-killing competition and jealousy amongst the nations. Inspite of his amazing progress, the ape and the tiger is asserting in man. Statesmen are again seriously talking of another war. The lessons of the world-war have obviously been forgotten. Is the world heading towards armageddon?

India's Mission

The man who talks about India's mission in the world may be looked upon as an irresponsible talker. The recent excavations at Mahenjo-daro have proved beyond the shadow of doubt that the Indo-Aryan civilization is as old as, if not older than the Sumerian civilization. According to the most conservative estimate, this civilization is five thousand years old. The stability of the Indian Society is a puzzle to me—said a great socialist leader. Inspite of many onslaughts and invasions, calamities and cataclysms which would have wiped out a less virile civilization, the Indian mind is clinging to nation's hoary cultural traditions. If any proof were necessary, the phenomenal success of Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha movement proves it. It is a half-naked Fakir who has awakened the sleeping lviathane and galvanised this sub-continent. And what are his weapons? Truth and non-violence. It is only this ancient land which could produce a political leader of Mahatma Gandhi's calibre, who has been constantly harping on the cultivation of these two cardinal moral virtues among his young lieutenants. The Indo-Aryan civilization has rightly been called the forest civilization. Far away from "the maddening crowds' ignoble strife," the builders of this unique civilization turned the search-light within. If the outer, external world is real, why not the inner world of ideas and volitions? If Europe has evolved her marvellous civilization by discovering laws of the physical world, India, on the contrary, has found the secret springs of her age-long pacific civilization in the moral and spiritual laws. The choice was made in this country for the inner world. Introspection and contemplation, non-aggression and non-violence, tolerance and acceptance is the very core of Indian culture.

Has India then been a land only of seers and sages, dreamers and tolus-eaters, half-naked Fakuirs and Mahatmas? They do not know the history of India who hold this view. What about Samudra Gupta, whom Vincent Smith calls the Indian Napoleon? What about Kautilya, who surpasses Machiavelli in preaching the philosophy of expediency? The fact of the matter is that India had enough of material prosperity, kingdoms and empires, but in the midst of these rose the throne of renunciation and non-violence. In this country a man's greatness is measured by finding out how little he possesses. Will the distracted and unhappy world listen to the voice of India coming across the centuries, "Peace belongs to them and them only who have found the eternal in the midst of 'non-eternal, evanescent objects of the world, the one in the midst of many" and usher in a new era of world-civilization by practising the grand truth "Each soul is potentially divine"?

FIVE YEARS PLAN FOR ADULT EDUCATION

(Continued from page 19)

this size are more than sufficient for their education. These can deal with elementary lessons on civics, such as rights and duties of citizenship, methods of voting, benefits of joining a political party, liberty, law, Government and state, history of India; Geography of India, the cultural achievements of India, scientific inventions, economics of Swadeshi and Khaddar, improve agriculture and industries; health and sanitation. The Government should get these books written in the vernaculars, printed at the least cost and sold at cost price. This scheme will aid the propaganda of political education, so that each educated adult will be a potential member of the Congress. The success of the A. E. scheme is essentially based on cheap books, since the masses on account of their poverty cannot spare money for books. However, they will not mind spending a pice a month and getting the delight of learning new things.

Reading Rooms And Circulating Libraries

Effective means must be adopted to continue and improve the study of the rudiments of knowledge given to the people, otherwise they will relapse into illiteracy. Panchayats must be established compulsorily in each village. Among other things, these should provide with or without Government help small reading rooms or newspapers and books. Then the District Boards should be required to have circulating libraries for the supply of books to their villages through the Panchayats. The provincial Government should issue pamphlets and books for free distribution among village libraries. Philanthropic people, temples, Maths, mosques should be requested to found libraries, reading rooms, museums and vocational schools. In short, the campaign to wipe out illiteracy and ensure the benefits of knowledge to the young and the old shall have to be continued here for many years.

The decalogue of the five years plan is as follows:—

(1) The adults to be compulsorily educated are all persons of both sexes between 15 and 50 years of age.

(2) Rolls of the literate and illiterate will be prepared as soon as possible and these will be revised every year.

(3) A minimum course to teach the three R's will be drawn up.

(4) The time required to learn this course is six months for males and one year for females, but double this period will be given in the first instance for appearing in the test examination.

(5) Quarterly examinations will be held after the introduction of the plan and adults of both sexes will be allowed to sit for the test.

(6) Free instruction shall be given to the illiterates, so that the Government will bear all expense. As the whole cost will be distributed over five years, the expenses will not be prohibitive. Still if this is not possible, Re. 1 per male literate be charged, or conscription of the literates be introduced and thus a minimum burden will be imposed on the Government and the people.

(7) Honorary workers as inspectors should be recruited to work.

(8) Cheap books should be published by the Government containing special courses for citizenship.

(9) Panchayats should be established in every village and town, and these should help in working out the plan from preparing the rolls to the holding of the examinations

(10) Reading rooms and circulating libraries should be established to maintain and improve literacy.

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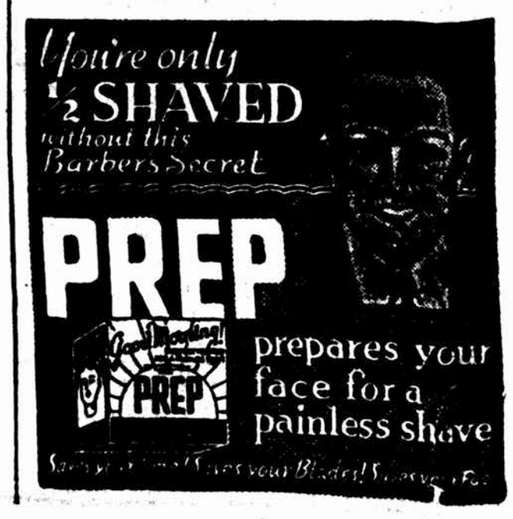

Indians In Foreign Lands

(Continued from page 18)

the free professions and labourers alike are to stay in the hard struggle of the overseas' colonies, they have to destroy the barriers that have separated them in the past. Such attempts are already afoot in various colonies and they have to be further intensified.

Problem Of Organisation

This takes us to the problem of organisation among overseas Indians. Due to individualism and divisions of language, education and religious orthodoxy they have been a sadly disorganised community in the past. An effective break with this past has already been made. The new economic policies of British Imperialism in the colonies will further create the pre-conditions of effective organisation among overseas Indians. In their turn they must forge ahead with the destruction of various evils from which they have sufferred in the past and create solid and well-knit communities. They already possess several newspapers and have formed themselves into associations. These newspapers should give vigorous expression of Indian opinion on several problems as they arise from time to time and become the focal centres of organising their readers into compact bodies. There should be one central organisation in each colony to which all Indians should belong.

The problem of organisation is however not solely racial. Overseas Indians are but one community among many other communities with whom they live in the closest proximity. Together with the dominant imperialist races, particularly the British, African Asiatic and other oppressed races live in the colonies Indians cannot therefore live an isolated racial existence. They have to combine with the other races to advance culture and prosperity in their own colonies and further the fight for freedom and democracy throughout the world. Such a united front of races must be given an organisational shape. There is for instance the Trade Union of the working class which is easily a united front of all labourers to whatever race they might belong with a view to greater justice and freedom. In like manner, associations of small peasants and small traders irrespective of racial origins may become the united front of all such as wish to resist imperialist exploitation.

United Front Against Exploitation

The Englishman is everywhere supreme. According to the British High Commissioner in Malaya, the Englishman owns each colony as "natives of the soil" do. In reality, it is the imperialist who is the sole master. Overseas Indians are often counselled to patience and co-operation with the imperialist master. At a farewell dinner to the Indian Agent in South Africa in January 1938, a member of the South African Cabinet advised South African Indians to co-operate with the European. He was concerned to find that of late there had been some attempts in South Africa to form a non-European United front in which Indians were taking a leading part. This may be a matter of concern to the South African European. It is a happy news for all such as desire international brotherhood based on equality of races. In so far as a united front of Indian and other oppressed races, eminently the African, is designed to combat European supremacy and resist imperialist exploitation, it is both necessary and desirable. Neither Indians nor Africans can singly resist their conditions of political and economic inferiority and of cultural backwardness. They must make common cause with each other. Such a united front, however, is not necessarily a purely racial combination. Europeans who are themselves exploited or who cannot tolerate the denial of humanity that is a daily practice in the colonies are welcome to a united front of all races to end slavery. Its new economic policies are a further consolidation of colonial imperialism. The railway may be an improvement upon the boat and the mechanised large plantations upon the backward small plots. But, so long as the motive force of all such improvement is the consolidation of imperialist profits and control, it will inevitably lead to further misery and backwardness. To resist this further deterioration, overseas Indians should devote themselves especially to achieving a united front of all oppressed races and the exploited masses.

India has often concerned herself with the problems of her overseas children. Mahatma Gandhi started his first civil disobedience movement in South Africa. Ever since, the Indian National Congress has time and again taken up a resolute stand in regard to the political and economic disabilities of overseas Indians. Aside from general publicity she has also tried to defend their position through resort to direct action, as, in the instance of boycott of Zanzibar cloves. India can further cement her bonds with her overseas communities. Exchange visits of cultural contacts may be arranged as also teachers may go out from India to spread education among the children of overseas Indians.

Non-Official Indian Embassies

Overseas Indians can also make India better known to the world, alike in the colonies as also in free countries. They can act as the un-official embassies of the Indian National Congress. Throughout the world they can help to create a front of freedom and democracy. Already in the cities of the United States, in London and in other European cities, there are considerable numbers of Indians who are helping to bring India into closer contacts with the progressive world. Such work should be intensified.

Indians are not, as is usually supposed, a stay-at-home and tied-to-the-soil people. For every hundred that stay in the motherland, one Indian seeks his living overseas. These 3 million of our stock, who are spread all over the world, are our special concern and our link with the world. We must share their sufferings and joys in common. And while we do so, we may not forget that, through concentration of population and trade, they are the predominant community in several British colonies. With each advance in their unity and organisation, a blow is struck for Indian freedom and against imperialism.

(This article forms the Introductory Chapter to a publication of the All-India Congress Committee, "Indians in Foreign Lands" by Rammanohar Lohia, Secretary, Foreign Department. Foreword by J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee. Price annas four.)

A Story Of The Satyagraha Days

MAMLATDAR'S DARBAR

By DINKAR DESAI

(Specially translated from the Concani for the Congress Number of "The Bombay Chronicle.")

A new Mamlatdar came to Mulapur. His name was Kulkarni. Although the people of Malapur had not set their eyes on Kulkarni Mamlatdar, his fame had long reached their ears. "Quite terrible at receiving bribes but too clever to get into any scrape" people said. I wasn't quite sure how much truth there was in what people said, but when recently Kulkarni Mamlatdar gave his daughter a dot of five thousand rupees I was convinced that they spoke the truth.

Many Mamlatdars came to Mulapur and went away. But this time one heard continuously the recurrent note of "Did you hear Kulkarni has been posted here?" There was a reason why people said that. Mahatma Gandhi had declared satyagraha all over India. And Mulapur had become a big centre of satyagraha.

"Any Mamlatdar could have his way with us. Just watch what sort of unity we could secure," Ramrao remarked.

"So much the better if we got a Mamlatdar who gave the biggest sentences. People would be properly worked up and prepared to face greater suffering," Deshbhakta Vinayakrao replied.

I was one day passing through the bazar. The vidi-maker Pokka called after me. "Shankar Shanaya, come here for a minute." I went: He was squatting with his tobacco tray on the knee preparing 'vidis.'

"So the new Mamlatdar has come. Said to be strong. More learned than even the Europeans. They say, he's going to finish off Congress and all, they say. Aabba, have you seen his whiskers and his paunch? Mamlatdari doesn't half so fit him. He ought to play the Bhimsen in the fair," Pokka forthwith acted the part with appropriate noises and gestures. The acting tilted the tray balanced on his knee and the tobacco powder was scattered on the ground. "Curse on the Mamlatdar, he spoilt my tobacco." Pokka picked it back into the tray.

"Vinayakrao is full of satyagraha, Pokka is full of 'jatra play'" I thought to myself.

When morning came the place was filled with sweet prabhat-pheri songs. Even aunt Shanta who always got up at 8 was active before day break and joined the prabhat-pheri. Rammana's girl Ambu put to some use her knowledge of playing the harmonium. Tunga, Prema, Indu, Leela, Manjula, Lalita, all dressed up with blue, yellow, ochre, green, white and pink 'saris' made up a glorious prabhat pheri. The truant Nagesh made a job of it, he got up at 4, took a cold water bath, and, in order to mobilise the party and taking Mangesh along with him, woke up the whole 'wada.' Ranganna could not stand it.

"Come here, you scamp. What kind of blooming prabhat pheri you get up at 4 in the morning? Shouldn't people sleep? If Gandhi gets up at 4, he also gets up! Make this row once more and I'll stopper your mouth," Ranganna one day took Nagesh to task.

"What bad nuisance! Women get up. The prabhat pheri in the morning, there's no tea till 8. When should I have my tea and begin study? Matric exam. is fast approaching." "Kirpathi" Anant grumbled. Book in his hand, he recited long Sanskrit verses and mugged them without making any sense out of them. That had earned him the nickname "Kirpathi" (parrot-reciter) from the children. Anant seemed to imagine that India would win swarajya sooner if he passed his examination instead of taking part in the prabhat-pheri.

One morning Fouzder Desai vindicated his authority. He stopped the prabhat pheri on the way. He placed three women and eight children under arrest. Still the prabhat pheri proceeded on its round. Not only that the next day saw the praphat pheri strengthen in a ten fold in numbers. Kulkarni Mamlatdar indiscriminately sentenced them all to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

"He's the incarnation of Kali. What charming little things. Sin incarnate. God alone knows how they could do their time in the jail. Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai! What's the jai about? He is not Mahatma, he's duratma. He doesn't spare even children. He's not Gandhi, he's Kali. Kalanki avatar" Kaveriakka said this while shedding tears from her eyes.

The prabhat pheri gave a formidable impetus to the Mulapur Satyagraha. As days passed, more people joined the prabhat pheris. Hundreds of persons went to jail. Deshbhakta Vinayakrao was sentenced to 3 years' rigorous imprisonment under two sections by Mamlatdar Kulkarni.

One great advantage and one that accrued directly out of the prabhat pheri was that three or four of the girls had had suitable matches made for them. "I made a mistake. I should have sent my Manjula to join the prabhat pheri." Martanrama's wife greatly regretted the omission when she saw this.

One day Mamlatdar Kulkarni and Fouzder Desai paid a visit to the adjoining village Kulgeri. The people did not show the least sign of awareness of their very existence. Not only that, but about a dozen urchins gathered together, collected half a dozen empty kerosene oil tins usually used to frighten away the marauding monkeys and followed the Mamlatdar, making a racket. One of the boys was the most audacious. He also improvised suitable rhymes.

Lamb mishacho mamladar
Shenan taka tondar mar

He led the crowd with this rhyme. The other urchins took up the song with great enthusiasm. The children's jeering upset the Mamlatdar. He made a sign with his eyes to the Fouzder who arrested two children. The other children jumped out of his reach with their tins. One of the two arrested was the poet prodigy.

Next day the trial began in the Court. The prodigy stood up to make a statement. Big crowds came into watch. Pokka the vidi-maker closed his shop and specially came to see the prodigy. Somebody conveyed to him the rhyme composed by the prodigy. Pokka was hugely delighted with it. "One must go have a look at this youngster. Very smart really. He is cut out for Abhimanyu's part," Pokka who was standing near me remarked.

The trial began. The Mamlatdar asked the prodigy:

"What is your name."

"Notorious one". replied the prodigy.

All laughed heartily. But the noisiest laughter was Pokka's. The Mamlatdar was irritated. The Musulman court-peon standing near me said in a small voice "Beta bohot badamash hai." On further inquiry it was ascertained that earlier in the morning the poet had borrowed for his theme the beard of the pattahwalla.

After some time, the trial ended. The prodigy got a sentence of 2 years. He left the court-room smiling. The crowds cheered him.

Suresh, however, who had been arrested along with the prodigy got only 3 months. Their offence was a common one. But he got a lighter sentence. There were two reasons for this. The first was that he was less insolent than the prodigy. And the other was that Suresh's father was Dapoly Collector. Although this parent had been dead several years somebody seemed to have reported the relationship to the Mamlatdar.

"I'm away, this is a madcap business. Everybody praises the prodigy. Why? Because he jeered the Mamlatdar? There's no meaning in your Congress movement, this is merely a farce." Bhimrao, the forest contractor, was lecturing.

"What, who's more farcical, the Congress or the Government? Better ponder it before you speak out. Is there a single case conducted with justice? Why was Gajanan sentenced the other day to two years for the same offence? And why a lesser sentence to the rest? Do you know all this?" Dina Varty asked Bhimrao.

"I don't know, let's hear". Bhimrao replied.

"Then listen. Kulkarni had had a grouse against Gajanan. That was because he refused to marry his daughter. You understand now? Farce, he calls it! What can you do without farce? What do you understand of these matters? You had better look after your forest contracts," Varty was quite excited over it. Bhimrao made a sour face.

The Congress conducted the Satyagraha for one year. And the Mamlatdar, too, held his durbar during the period with great power. Thousands of people suffered. The poor had had their houses confiscated. The ryots lost their land. Vaikunt Kamat sustained great losses. But the motor-driver, Suleman, made a fortune by buying auctioned land. The condition of the ryots was worse than the dog's. It became impossible for them to have a square meal once a day. On the whole Mulapur can be said to have paid the highest price in losses for this satyagraha.

"Didn't I tell you, this satyagraha was no use at all. You do it because the other fellow does it. What madness! It is so futile. Gandhi preaches and the people follow him. You get your bread when you approach the Sarkar as your mabap. It is useless to start a struggle," the retired Sar-Karkun Raosaheb Zakamdir was preaching. In a way, the Rao Saheb was right. You get a piece of bread from the Government when you beg for it and the Rao Saheb had actually obtained it. Only recently he had approached the Sahibs in the humble attitude of the "mabap ji hukum" and had procured for his son who had passed his B.A. a job in the customs. But the Rao Saheb ignored the fact that what the Congress was after was not a job in the customs but complete swarajya.

Before Desnbhakta Vinayakrao returned after completing his sentence of 3 years Mamlatdar Kulkarni had been promoted to Deputy Collectorship. The members of his community called a meeting in the hall of the Mitra Samaj, garlanded, gave pansupari and congratulated him.

"It's a great event one of us has been promoted to high office." Dattamama Nadkarni eulogised Kulkarni in these terms.

Two months after, Government released Vinayakrao. I was sorry to find that very few members of the community attended the reception given to him. Nadkarni did not come to the meeting to eulogise him. The elder Mangeshmama did not garland him as Kulkarni was garlanded. The community would not sniff at poor Vinayakrao. When fifteen years ago this man won the Chancellor's Medal in the M. A. examination, the community led him in a procession from the place where he landed and profusely garlanded him. But now garlands were out of the question. On the contrary "To hell with Vinayakrao. Hypocrite of a patriot. There's something between him and Sitabai of the Satyagraha Ashram." That loafer Vishvanath expressed the opinion and many others echoed it.

Although the reception given to Vinayakrao was not attended by members of his community, Bhandaris, Kulambis, Nadgis, Komarpaiks, Halepaiks, Padatis, Herkantras, Chamars, Mahars from the villages came in thousands to surround the jail gates. Bhandari Raghova led the crowd with green coconuts in his hands. He was all expectation awaiting the moment when Vinayakrao would make his appearance and he would offer him his present. After a time, Vinayakrao came out. The shout of "Vinayakrao ki jai" reached up the skies. Tears streamed down the faces of the poor who received him. Some threw themselves at his feet. An old woman of ninety bathed his feet with her tears with the caressing cry of welcome. Vinayakrao lifted her up and a couple of tears plunged down his face.

THE END.

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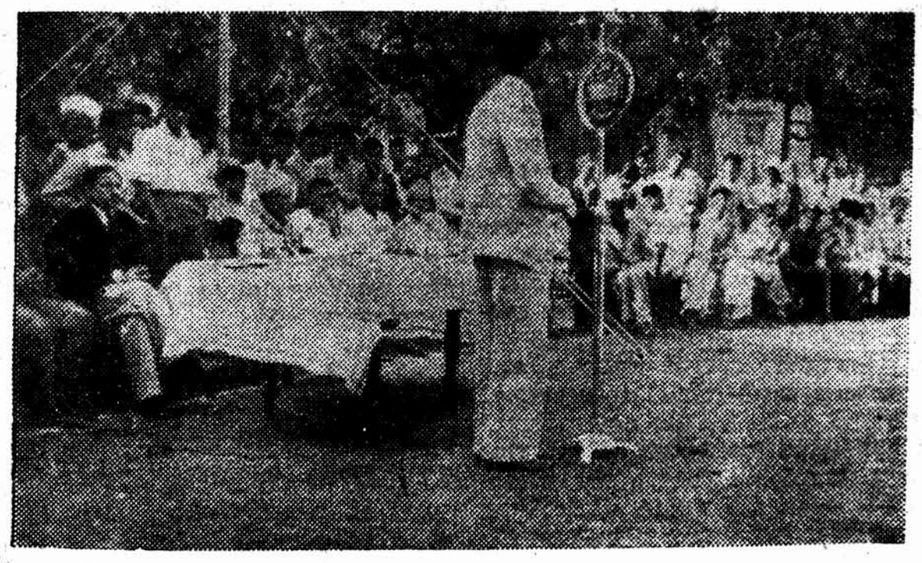
National Scouting And National Reconstrution

The Indian National Congress is passing through a unique period in its history. It is passing through a natural period which all struggles involve. A struggle implies consequences—scattering of resources, diminution of vigour, disorganisation, temporary lassitude, a dispassionate survey of strength and efficiency at the end of a battle. Then a period of regeneration begins, the forces are consolidated, reorganisation is taken in hand, drooping spirits are energetically revived. The generation that fought the battles of life has matured a new generation has to shoulder responsibilities.

Recent history of fighting nations reveals, especially in Russia, Germany, Italy, Japan and Turkey, that the utmost care and attention is lavished on the young, their physical health, robustness and manliness, and the ideal potent leadership. Scouting makes a bold bid when it asserts its capacity to fulfil this mission which will give to the country a trained army for the purpose of national reconstruction. Indeed, a large, number of persons will express their unwillingness to pin their faith to this movement which has so far been the symbol of reaction and mischief to the proper development of the young.

Waste Of Energy

With all the platitudes of the B. P. Movement in its hours of weakness, with all its bombastic claim to conscientious ideals, it cannot easily forget two decades of a criminal waste of energy and resources of a poor nation. Its anti-national leadership is not yet removed. The recent provincial Gazette of the Punjab, written by Mr. Hogg, is a proof that certain



Mr. M. C. Chagla, District Commissioner of Bombay, Addressing the National Scouts.

(Left) Pandit Bajpai with a pack of National Lion Cubs; (Right) Pandit Bajpai delivering the message of National Unity at the National Scout Rally at Gowalia Tank Maidan.

background of their minds. The training of citizenship is vigorously taken in hand and youth is moulded to answer the destiny of the nation.

Vitalisation Of The Young

It is unfortunate that the Congress Ministers have not been as enthusiastic in their attention to the young as they ought to have been, except evincing keen interest in the reorganisation of education. Education certainly receives the first care of any National Government, but, perhaps, more important is "the vitalisation of the young". The youths must receive three fundamental assets before they undertake the routine functions of life and shoulder duties on behalf of the nation. These are manliness, organisation and ideals. These three must be grounded into their lives, not so much by the educational system, as by a voluntary organisation of youths where there can be com-

elements in this movement are bent upon exploiting the movement for political purposes. Though the Governor of Bombay has declined to be the Chief Scout of Bombay, Lord Brabourne after great hesitation and reluctance has been, it appears, compelled to become the Chief Scout of Bengal.

Challenge To Self-Respect

The Provincial Commissioner in Bombay is going to send certificates signed by himself to all Scouts who will pass the "King's Scout" Badge. It is unfortunate that Sir Jamshedji, who has otherwise been fully aware of the aspirations of our country, should have been led into this mistake, though it will probably stir up the few youths left in the movement to prove that their national self-respect is strong enough. The test may be the highest qualification in the movement, but the reward must be in keeping with the merit.

Move To Wreck Unity

Perhaps the worst act in the history of the B. P. Movement is yet to be staged as preparations are made to wreck the unity of the Scout Movement by stirring up revolt in the Punjab and Bengal against the National Movement.

No Compromise

The hand of goodwill and co-operation was extended by the National Associations, but if the principle of full nationalism is challenged, then it will not be worth while to dream of an undesirable unity. The spirit of scout brotherhood shall prevails but it shall not compromise with the manoeuvres of vested interests. The National Movement is not spoiling for a fight. Mr. Hogg has thrown the gauntlet. The I. N. S. A. was fully aware of the future battle that is to be waged when it came into existence and therefore most reluctantly it had to remain apart from the Seva Samiti for a time, but it has fully weighed the responsibilities and it means business. If the scout spirit cannot prevail, then the demands of maintaining our principles and stabilising national leadership will make a ruthless campaign of rooting out the last movement and clearing the debris will be inevitable. Meanwhile the move of the General Headquarters is awaited, and they are free to await the consequences.

Minister's Responsibility

The desire to serve the nation and provide that courage, organisation and ideals deserves the appreciation and co-operation of every section of the population. The entire nation must fully realise that the National Scout Movement has undertaken a herculean task. The nation must stand solidly behind the stand of the national movement. The Congress Ministers should not be led away by the sweet reasonings of those who may be honest and sincere enough, but who have not the power of delivering goods. The action of some of the Ministers in some Provinces has been premature, whilst the vacillation

(Continued on Page 57)

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Cawnpore Labour Situation

Problem Of The Inquiry Committee

(By Hariharnath Sastri).

Labour-situation in Cawnpore is an interesting subject to deal with. It has aroused excited interest in past and at the same time it has been a cause of grave concern to many. In August 1937, a general strike took place in the textile industry of Cawnpore, as a result of which over forty thousand mill-workers struck work and put up a grim fight against their employers under the banner of the Cawnpore Mazdoor Sabha. A wrong impression has gained ground that this general strike was the outcome of a planned conspiracy on the part of certain Leftist agitators, who wanted to put the new Congress Ministry in an embarrassing position. Such a notion simply betrays utter ignorance of the real state of affairs. In fact a general strike at that stage was opposed by all sections of the labour workers in Cawnpore. A printed leaflet signed amongst others by the so-called Leftist section, was widely broadcast among the Cawnpore textile workers, and it advised workers not to resort to strike at that particular moment as the situation was not yet ripe for the same. The strike, nonetheless, took place and all sections of workers participated in it.

Genesis Of General Strike

The question then naturally arises as to how this general strike occurred. Surely, it was not caused by any miracle. To have a correct idea of the causes leading to the general strike one has to go back to the year 1931, that marked the beginning of a period of wage cuts in the textile industry. A commencement in that direction was first made in certain departments. This led to departmental strikes which failed due to lack of support from employees in other departments who were not originally affected. Employers emboldened by such failures, effected wage cuts in other departments too. This process went on from one mill to another unabatingly and wage cuts became order of the day. Workers in individual mill put up resistance against such attempts at cuts in their wages. There were strikes one after another in almost all the textile mills of Cawnpore. All these strikes, however, failed to achieve any appreciable results to the working class, firstly due to the repressive policy of the Government, secondly due to the obstructive tactics of the employers and lastly due to lack of solidarity among workers. The last point needs a little elucidation. Prior to the year 1931 there was only one group consisting of persons having Congress leaning who was working in Labour movement in Cawnpore. In the year 1931 a rival red Union—named Mazdoor Sahayak Sangh—was formed in Cawnpore as opposed to the Cawnpore Mazdoor Sabha The main business of workers of this Red Union was to carry on a propaganda of regular vilification against the leaders of the Mazdoor Sabha. This went on till the year 1933 when there was a change in the policy of the Red Group. The separatist tendencies isolated this group from the Trade Union movement and they realized the importance of the united front. The Red Trade Union Congress was dissolved and so were other organizations affiliated to it. In Cawnpore, too, the Mazdoor Sahayak Sangh was dissolved and its workers agreed to work under the banner of Mazdoor Sabha. This change, however, did not alter the position so far as the actual working was concerned. The Red group although it joined the Mazdoor Sabha retained its separate identity and it went on Mazdoor Sabha leaders. Whensoever any strike broke out, attempts were made to keep the Mazdoor Sabha leaders at a distance or to oppose the advice given by these leaders, however reasonable it may have been. In fact a stand was taken in course of most of these strikes by the Red group that the Mazdoor Sabha should have nothing to do with strike and that only the strike committees were the proper authorities to judge and decide necessary action to conduct these strikes. Thus it will be seen that the attitude adopted by the Red group was one of the principal factors that stood in the way of a successful fight of the working class against their employers.

Labour's Success

Events took a new turn in the year 1936. Mass of workers got tired of these dissensions that give a set back to the movements during the last five years. The changed feelings of workers found expressions in the Cooper-Allen strike that took place in the year 1936. Inspite of Red opposition workers fought unitedly under the banner of the Mazdoor Sabha. The fight went on for about a month and half and the Mazdoor Sabha leaders were able to secure redress of most of the grievances of workmen including the restoration of wage cut. Success in the the Cooper-Allen Strike created a great enthusiasm among Cawnpore workers who realized the importance of joint action under the Mazdoor Sabha leadership. Another strike took place in the New Victoria Mills in May 1937. Here, too, the workers cast in their lot with the Mazdoor Sabha. After a successful fight that lasted for three weeks, the mill-owners came to terms with the Mazdoor Sabha leaders, and met most of the points of workers. This was followed by strike in the J. K. Jute mills. By that time the Congress Ministry had become an accomplished fact. At the instance of Hon. Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant, the U. P. Premier, a compromise was effected between the employers and the Mazdoor Sabha. Although certain elements successfully induced the workers to flout the authority of the Sabha in the beginning the workers later on realized their mistake and stood by decision of their union.

Employer's Offensive

Soon after the strike-wave spread in the other mills of Cawnpore, namely, the Muir Mills and the Cawnpore Cotton Mills. Here, again, opens a fresh leaf in the Labour movement of Cawnpore. The employers realized the seriousness of the situation and they decided to put up a joint fight against the Cawnpore mill workers. With that object in view they formed the employers' Association of Northern India. This was the signal of the General Strike. Workers realized that to meet the united offensive of their employers an united action on their part was necessary. Before, however, launching on the general strike they took care to present their case to the Congress Government. A memorandum containing the demands of Cawnpore workers was submitted to Hon. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, the Minister of Industries who had taken the trouble of coming over to Cawnpore to find out a solution of the position that had arisen. On the suggestion of the Minister, the Mazdoor Sabha leaders agreed to refer the question of wage cut to an inquiry committee appointed by the Government. The employers, however, were adamant in their attitude and they refused to accord their recognition to the Mazdoor Sabha, on the plea that it was not a representative organisation of the mass of the Cawnpore workers. This attitude of the employers left no other course open to the Mazdoor Sabha but to declare a general strike in order to assert its existence and to compel the employers to concede the legitimate demands of the Cawnpore workers.

The Inquiry Committee

The General Strike went on successfully till a vigorous effort for a compromise made by the Premier bore fruit and the Employers' Association of Northern India entered into an agreement with the Mazdoor Sabha. Most of the points of dispute were accepted by the employers and the main question of wage cut was referred to an Inquiry Committee. Here, I cannot help remarking that the sympathetic attitude of the Congress Ministry and the untiring zeal and support given in particular by the Premier was one of the principal factors that contributed to the success of the General Strike and which consolidated the position of the Mazdoor Sabha. It was at his instance that the employers had to agree to recognise the Mazdoor Sabha. In a couple of months the membership of the Sabha rose quickly from eight thousand to twelve thousand.

The Red Slogan

Had all sections of workers taken full advantage of the changed circumstances and concentrated all efforts to the strengthening of the position of the Sabha, the latter would have become to-day a mighty and potent organisation. But again the Red group came to the front with a new slogan. They preached among Cawnpore workers the idea of independent mill committees with independent funds and independent rights to declare strike independent of the parent organisation—the Cawnpore Mazdoor Sabha. The Mazdoor Sabha leaders were opposed to such tendencies as they were definitely of opinion that if the mill committees declared strike on their own initiative, the movement would be disrupted and all that had been achieved in course of the General strike and as a result of the settlement would be dashed to pieces. The Red slogan, however, caught the imagination of the Cawnpore workers who in their over enthusiasm failed to realise the significance of the advice given to them by their leaders. One after another strikes took place in about half a dozen textile mills and each one of them met failure.

In this connection another factor also must become in mind. During and before the General Strike the sympathies of the Congress Ministry were with the working class. As has already been pointed out, the Premier played a prominent part in securing workmen what was their due. During general strike, the workers escaped past experiences of lathi-charge, imprisonments and other repressive measures. A change, however, came about in the attitude of the Government after the General Strike. There were various causes that brought about this change. Soon after the general strike was over a Red leaflet was distributed over the signature of Mr. S. S. Yusuf, the Red Labour leader of Cawnpore among workers exorting them to organize a Red army in order to put up a fight, if necessary, against the police, some of the newspapers owned by industrialists, published this leaflet, in a sensational manner in order to create prejudice against the workers' view-point. This was followed by strike that took place against the wishes of public opinion and the workers in general. Soon after there occurred, unfortunately, the murder of a mill supervisor. All these incidents stiffened the attitude of the Government. However sporadic strikes one after another and reports of intimidation against workers alienated the sympathies of the Government. Section 144 was promulgated, banning meetings near mill gates and prohibiting certain individuals from making public speeches. A number of workers were also sent to prison. At the same time the recognition of the Mazdoor Sabha was withdrawn by the employers.

A Serious Situation

Labour movement in Cawnpore is faced with a serious situation to-day. Much of what was gained during the general strike is lost and the question of all questions before every one sincerely concerned with the Cawnpore Labour movement is to win the lost position and prestige of the Mazdoor Sabha and to make it an effective organization of Cawnpore workers. Efforts in several directions are needed to meet this end. On the one hand, the Congress Government has also to revive its policy. Inspite of past mistakes Labour has every right to claim the support of the national Government. It rightly expects that the Congress Ministry should take its due share in helping the Cawnpore workers to consolidate their position and create a powerful organization that can safeguard their rights. Therefore, the Government would be well advised to withdraw all orders under Section 144 and 107 and to release Labour workers now in prison. On the other hand, labour workers and the Cawnpore working class has no less arduous a task to perform. Let us all recognise this fact that the Cawnpore Mazdoor Sabha is the organization that is capable of guiding the destinies of Cawnpore workers and that their struggle, if it has to bear any fruit, must be carried on under the banner of the Sabha in a disciplined manner.

BERLIN'S HANDICRAFTS EXHIBITION

Preparations for the first International Handicrafts Exhibition, to be held this year in Berlin, are now in full swing. The Exhibition, which will be open from May 28 to July 10, is being organised by the German Labour Front, in close co-operation with the International Handicrafts Centres, and it will occupy the whole of Berlin's vast exhibition grounds. Thirty nations are to be represented. In the International section it will be possible to see at work a Bulgarian embroidery worker, an Arabian leather handicraftsman, a Neapolitan coral worker, a Venetian glass maker, a Bohemian crystal cutter, a Breton potter, a Dieppe ivory carver or a Japanese sword maker, as well as craftsmen from many other lands.

Uddhar-Rameshwar

Minor Holy Places Of The Deccan

(By B. N. GOKHALE)

When recently I had occasion to visit Padghavli and I proposed to visit Uddhar-Rameshwar in a bullock-cart, the proposal was received with some amount of amusement by my relatives. For one thing, the villagers have little, if any, respect for the city-dwellers' capacity to put up with the trials of travelling in a country conveyance. Secondly, the place itself, to which I intended to make a pilgrimage, is far removed from the trunk-road and consequently the troubles involved in the visit are greater. Lastly, I proposed to make the journey to the hill on which the temple is situated by starting very early at dawn from the village where I was staying, a procedure involving a departure from the usual mode of spending a night at the foot of the hill and then commencing the ascent before sunrise. But all these objections were overruled and I carried out my original plan by starting from Padghavli at 3 a.m. in the morning.

The Journey

Uddhar-Rameshwar is a sacred place situated on a hill in Sudhagad taluka of the Bhor State about forty miles from Karjat Station of the G. I. P. Railway, about twenty-five miles from Khopoli, famous for its electric power-house, and about five miles from Pali, the headquarters of Sudhagad taluka. We expected to reach Uddhar, the village at the foot of the hill, in about three hours and a half, a journey of about ten miles, of which four miles were to be covered on country road branching off from the trunk-road connecting Pali with the Pen-Khopoli road and the Bombay-Poona road. There is now a daily bus service between Pali and Bombay and the trunk-road belonging to the State within these limits covers about twelve miles and is a part of the Jubilee Road, being constructed by the present Ruler's father in commemoration of the Jubilee of the reign of Queen Victoria. I understand that the State repairs a part of the road annually, completing the whole within a period of six years, but strangely enough the work, instead of being carried out by a public works department of the State, is entrusted to a contractor, selected from amongst the lowest bidders at a public auction, the successful man eliminating all competition by paying a gratuity to the most serious among his rivals. The condition of this trunk-road is now certainly better than what it was but a few years back, though even now there is considerable scope for improvement. A few years ago, the late Mr. G. K. Deodhar of the Servants of India Society, who had been to Pali in connection with the inauguration of an institution doing Harijan and social work there, was returning to Bombay Karjat by motor bus which was crowded inside and I happened to join him on the way at another place. Fortunately I had already reserved the front seat near the driver, but Mr. Deodhar, on seeing me, invited me inside the bus, which invitation I declined with thanks. He soon discovered the reason however, because when the bus gained speed, the joining became very uncomfortable, and our talk naturally turned to this aspect of bus travel and his complaint against the condition of the road was bitter. Though not a native of the taluka, my experience was similar and I requested him, knowing that he was well acquainted with the ruler of Bhor, to speak about it to the latter on the next occasion they happened to meet, which he gladly consented to do I do not know whether, amongst his crowded engagements, Mr. Deodhar remembered the incident afterwards and was able to speak to the Chief now the Raja of Bhor

Hot Spring At Pali

The journey at dawn on the Pali road, apart from the joltings of the bullock-cart, is pleasant enough. On the right, at a distance of about two or three miles, we see a small hill range in which is situated the hill of Uddhar-Rameshwar, practically separating Sudhagad taluka from Pen taluka and the road connecting Pen with Khopoli. On the left, we have a bigger mountain range comprising and in continuation of the Bor-Ghat and the Duke's Nose is visible at a great distance clear against the sky, somewhat from a different angle than the one available to those ascending the ghats in a railway train. The other places of vantage seen in the range are Tel-bela, and the historical fortress of Bhorai, which is also worth a visit, and which, on our return journey in the evening, we saw illuminated by lights presumably in connection with the Coronation. In front was visible the fortress of Pali, with its peculiar shape resembling the back of an elephant, which makes it recognisable even from far off. Besides being the headquarters of the taluka, Pali is noted for its temple of Ballaleshwar or Ganpati, one among the eight famous temples of Ganpati in the Deccan known as the 'Ashta Vinayakas.' There is also a hot spring at Pali.

Owing to a mistake as to the exact location of the side-road, there was some delay and our party reached the foot of the Uddhar hill at about 7-30 a.m. and engaging a guide-cum-coolie we began the ascent at about 8 a.m. after covering a distance of about a mile between the village of Uddhar and the foot of the hill on which the temple of Rameshwar stands. We took a little more than an hour to complete the ascent, which consists of two stages, the second one more difficult and steep than the first. The foot-way is rugged and at times slippery, and therefore some care has to be exercised especially when descending on the return trip. The road is more or less exposed to the sun though there are one or two glades on the way.

The Temple

The temple itself is surrounded by a stone compound and is situated in a thick growth of trees which keeps the place quite cool even during the hot days of summer. The main temple is of stone with a small shed in front recently repaired and improved by some pious-minded lady. In front of the temple at a distance of about a hundred and fifty feet is a watering place called the 'Surya Kunda,' constructed of stone, where plenty of water is available. Water for drinking is collected at the foot of a big tree nearby, the shade keeping it for ever very cold and refreshing. About a furlong from this place and at a higher level is another 'kunda' known as the 'Ram kunda,' the waters of which are used for bathing purposes. At a little distance from this place and at a somewhat higher level is a temple dedicated to the goddess Bhavani. Round about there is thick primeval forest, some of the trees being really gigantic. There were all kinds of trees there, the flowering 'Ashoka' (locally known as 'Vasgi') which gives a portion of the forest its name of 'Ashoka Vana,' the Kadamba' and 'Bakul,' the 'Niv,' the 'mango,' the 'Ain,' the teak of 'Saya' tree, the 'kumbi,' 'Vehala' and 'Hirda,' besides the usual 'Peepul' and 'Banyan' trees and several other minor varieties like 'Temburnia' and 'Apta.' There is the remnant of a thick growth of the sweet smelling 'Ketaki' or 'Kevda' plants, a portion of which, so our guide informed us, was demolished by cattle recently. Monkeys were in evidence to some extent though not in numbers, and the place must be full of reptiles and a few wild beasts like the boar and the tiger, which, we were told, at times come near the 'Ram' and 'Surya Kundas' for drinking water.

The temple, as its name Rameshwar implies, is dedicated to the God Shiva and there is a Shivalinga, which is worshipped daily by priests from the village of Uddhar, who do the worship in turns, and on the day of the Mahashivaratra, which generally falls in the month of February or the beginning of March, it attracts a number of worshippers from the taluka. The Linga is supposed to be founded by the great Shree Rama and the place mainly derives its importance from its association with an incident in the 'Ramayana.' When Ravana forcibly captured Sita, the Queen of Rama, and was taking her to Lanka, on his way, he was challenged by Jatayu, the Vulture King, who valiantly tried to rescue Sita from his hands. Even the prowess of Ravana was for long of no avail against the onslaughts of Jatayu and the Demon-King even lost his chariot and its steeds in the fight. Ultimately Ravana was able to vanquish the old vulture by separating his wings from his body and cutting off the legs, and then he triumphantly proceeded on his way with Sita. The

(Continued on page 52)

HERE is the story of a woman who had arrived at the point where she felt that "she had nothing to live for." She wrote:

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"Syt. Congressman! I Ask A Question" Spoke The Old Villager

(By S. K. VAIDYA.)

"I say, Shreeyut! Please, spare a moment for me. From your dress, I take it that you are a Congressman; I want your help and guidance. I am at the cross-roads. I wish to go to Haripura Congress assembly, but there are so many roads and I am bewildered. Kindly show me the path that leads me to my goal." Thus spoke a very tired-looking old villager to a neatly-dressed Khaddar-clad middle-aged man, who seemed to carry some authority in his bearing.

"Yes Kakaji, you are right; I am a Congressman," said the Congressman, halting. "Haripura is a bit from here; but you keep to the straight broad road, which turns to the right and keep on straight without going to the left or through the jungle, by the thorny and stony footpath, and you will reach your goal betimes and in comfort. You will not lose your way nor will you suffer the tortures of pain by the pricks of thorny-spikes and by the tears in the soles of your feet by the sharp edged rough and rugged stones. Kakaji, looking to your age and your infirmity and weakness, I would strongly advise you to follow the straight and right path."

The old villager looked a lot relieved, and his anxious features relaxed. He sat down by the wayside to rest a while. The Congressman went his way.

The villager looked all around him, and then looked at Mother Earth and heaved a sigh of relief. His eyes began to close, and his breathing began to be deeper and slower. Soon he fell asleep. Fatigue and freedom from worry contributed to this happy consumation.

After the lapse of some time the old man woke up, brushed his eyes with his hand, looked around, yawned and leisurely stretched his body. Then he washed his eyes and face with the water from his earthen water-vase, wiped his hands dry on his wearing clothes, took out a piece of bread and "chutney" from his "gathdi" (clothes bag), ate it in peace with out hurry, took a few mouthfuls of water and swallowed them, and cleansing his mouth and teeth with elaborate care and thoroughness, and garglings, got up. He put his "gathdi" on his head and taking his stick in his right hand, began his journey to Haripura. He was going his way in full confidence and trust, because he was told that the right hand path would surely lead him to his destination, and the road was good.

Time went on and the distance lessened, and he reached a point from where another path, not so broad, took its turning to the left. He did not hesitate. He kept to his right hand path. But he saw a group of Khaddar-clad youths shouting to him and asking him where he was going, at the same time arguing among themselves loudly that they were sure he was a trusting villager going to Haripura by the longer road and it was their duty to help him along the left hand path which though not so straight nor so broad as the right hand path, was certainly the shorter one. The old man halted and turned back and reaching them, asked the youths, as to the reason why he was called back. "Could he help them at all?" he asked. The youths looked at each other, almost imperceptibly shook their heads, meaning thereby to convey to each other that it was they who were going to help the old man and not to ask for his help. He was so decrepit-looking and old and infirm and what help could he give. Their leader among them spoke to the old man thus:—

"Kakaji, you are old, and perhaps you do not know exactly what you are doing. Are you going to Haripura by any chance? If so, our hearts go out to you, and we wish to tell you that you should go with us by the left-hand path so that your journey will be shorter by one-half. Of course, it is a bit rough in places and there are ups and downs, but you will reach much sooner and you will not have to walk such a tremendously long distance."

The villager looked at each of them by turn and seemed puzzled and began slowly to stroke his unshaven chin. At last he summoned up enough courage and said:—Youths, I ask you a question. You say the left-hand path is shorter and that you are going to Haripura yourselves. I would very much like to go your way: But I ask you:—"Why did that nice-looking elderly clean-dressed Congressman tell me to go by the right-hand path? He looked by his manner and speech and kindliness and his general bearing that he was a good and straightforward man and I am certain he gave me the right advice. You may be right that the left hand path may be a bit shorter. But look at my body. Think of my age and infirmity. Do you think I would be able to negotiate the path? Do you think I would be able to stand the strain of the ups and downs? Do you think I would be able to keep up with you when you set the pace? You must remember you are in possession of the full vigour of prime of life, and you can rough it. But what about me who am old and weak? Any little obstacle might upset me and that would mean the end of all my dreams. I am old and I have to be careful: I must reach Haripura safely. I think, you had better go your way and I mine."

But the youths looked now in their turn puzzled. They simply could not understand the obtuseness of the villager. They were showing him his mistake, they were showing him a much shorter route to his goal out of kindness without any selfish interests and yet the old man would much rather go the longer way! Such a phenomenon was ununderstandable. The leader of them again addressed the old villager and said:—"Kakaji, the right-hand path also leads to Haripura; it is such a long journey. It means so much waste of time and energy. You go along with us and we shall try and help you in difficult places. Will that do? Can you trust us. Look at us; we are also Congressmen. Are not we also clad in spick-and-span Khaddar? Only, the old Congressmen would not go by newer and shorter ways even though they will reach their destination earlier. They will simply not take a path they are not sure of. They are really devoid of the necessary spirit of adventure and are wanting courage to try out newer paths. That is why he asked you to go by the longer route."

The old man looked at them silently as if in deep thought, but as a matter of fact trusting his instinct to guide him, at last after a little time, he said:—"All right, be it so. You also seem to be honest and from your dress you appear to be Congressmen. You could not possibly have any ulterior motives in leading me astray. I will go with you. But please do not leave me behind. Kindly think of my age and remember my infirmity." And the youths and the old villager all started by the shorter path on the left, leading to Haripura.

They had not gone much farther when they are overtaken by a crowd of virile active youths dressed in all sorts of clothes: some in khaddar, some in semi-khaddar, some in Swadeshi mill-cloth and others in even foreign clothes. Making their way rapidly, they looked at the khaddar clad-youths of the first group, pityingly and almost sneeringly and many of them at the same time shouted "So, you are going to Haripura. Are you? Comrades, look at these khaddarwalas. Do not they look a sight? they are neither for the right path nor for the left, which we are taking. Are not they comic? And looking at the bewildered old man in their midst they began to laugh and loudly asked. Say, old father, are you going to Haripura? If so come along with us. We will take you there by the most direct and shortest route. You see these crop-laden fields. Haripura is just beyond them, there. We shall go through them and shall be glad to give you our protection and lead you there. Don't you worry. Leave it to us. Don't you trust this khaddar brigade. They don't know their job and try to lead people. We do not believe in wasting our energy. We believe in direct routes. Boys, what are you waiting for? Come on, let us help the old villager. He is too old to understand the why's and wherefore's and how's of things. We know what is good for him." So saying, they simply caught hold of the villager by his arms and almost lifted him off his feet and made for the corn-fields. They broke open the gates to the fields bearing "No-Trespass" notices, saying "The fields belong to us. No human being was born with the earth. The earth is common property and we go where we like and do what we like." There was a look of helpless bewilderment on the face of the old villager, while the Khaddar-clad youths stood staring where they were with gaping mouths as if they were petrified.

"Syt. Congressman, I ask a question. I am at the cross-roads. I wish to go to Haripura Congress I am bewildered. Kindly show me the right path to my goal." These much have been the thoughts of the old villager as he was being wafted along over corn-laden fields.

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Uddhar-Rameshwar

(Continued From Page 51.)

dying Jatayu was found by Rama and Lakshmana in their search for Sita and it was Jatayu who gave them all information about Sita and his fight with Ravana. Rama, deeply touched by this deed of an old friend of his father, is reported to have given salvation to Jatayu's soul and performed his obsequies at the place where the present watering places are situated. Whether one is inclined to believe or not such stories associating places with puranic incidents, it must be admitted that generally no two places are mentioned as being associated with one and the same incident from the Puranas.

A Movable "Nandi"

There is one curious feature about the temple which deserves to be mentioned. Like all temples of Shiva, there is an image of Nandi, the God-Bull favourite of Shiva, in front of the Linga, but besides this fixed image, there is another image of Nandi which is not fixed and to which is attached some superstition We were informed that any person with some wish could test whether he would be able to achieve it by lifting the his wish would be granted, but if he found it very difficult to do so, it would be otherwise. We all tried the experiment but found no difficulty in raising the image.

We descended from the hill in about three quarters of an hour and about two or three furlongs from the village of Uddhar we visited another temple of Shiva also called Rameshwar, which also attracts visitors and devotees on the Mahashivratra day. This temple besides its Shivalinga, has also a small temple of Bhavani adjoining it and on the east side are situated two stone 'Kundas' full of water A few feet away are two small puddles of clear water in which, so we were told, ashes or bones of the deceased are thrown by their relatives all the year round but in large quantities during the Mahashivratri festival, and the water possesses the remarkable quality of quickly dissolving them. We saw no bones in the puddles, and as the water is clear and small in quantity, the fact, if it be true, is very remarkable, and deserves to be explored by some enthusiastic student of chemistry.

Our party returned home by about 8 p.m. none the worse for the return journey by bullock-cart of over three hours and every one had thoroughly enjoyed the trip.

Hindi Prachar In Bombay Karnatak

Training College Newly Opened At Dharwar Provides Facilities To Teachers

By R. S. HUKERIKAR

After the Belgaum session of the Indian National Congress in 1924 some of the Congress Leaders began to take interest in the spread of the national language Hindi Dr. N. S. Hardiker took the initiative in the matter and provided for the compulsory introduction of Hindi in the Hindusthani Seva Dal Course. He also requested the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha to depute their representatives for the spread of the language in these parts. With the coming of Sjts. Jamna Prasad and Devadut Vidyarthi the Prachar work went on very briskly till 1927. After that it received a set-back for a short period of three years only to revive again in 1931, when Sjt. Sidhanath Pant who was then working in the Seva Dal Camp at Ankola, started the Hindi Prachar Camp. People from all parts o fDharwar and Belgaum Districts took advantage of it, learnt Hindi in large numbers. Ankola became one of the vanguard Hindi centres in South India.

Propaganda In Karnatak

This was not all. To co-ordinate the increasing work in different parts of the Province, the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha opened its Karnatak Branch at Bangalore in the year 1935, as suggested by Sjt. Kaka Kalelkar. This branch during the short period of two years carried on an intensive propaganda in the Mysore State and South Canara Districts. Last year after the re-organisation of the Karnatak Provincial Hindi Prachar Sabha, the Hindi movement in these parts began to gain ground. The Karnataka Provincial Prachara Sabha approached for the first time, the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee during its general body meeting held at Ranebennur last year during the month of December. The Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee passed a resolution requesting every one of its members to learn Hindi. This in fact gave an impetus to the Hindi movement in the Bombay Karnatak. At the annual session of the Gandhi Seva Sangh held at Belgaum last year during the month of May, an informal meeting of the Hindi lovers of Bombay Karnatak took place under the Presidentship of Sjt. Kaka Kalelker. The meeting discussed in detail the various proposals placed before the Committee for the spread of Hindi in the Bombay Karnatak Districts. This furthered the cause of Hindi Prachar in these parts.

Training College Opened

Sjt. Sidhanath Panth, the Organising Secretary of the Karnatak Provincial Hindi Prachar Sabha, had an interview in the month of September with the Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher, the Chief Minister of Bombay Government and placed before him the scheme of making Hindi a compulsory subject in the Mulki and Matriculation Courses as well as for the Government officials. The Chief Minister gave a sympathetic hearing and promised to do all for the spread of Hindi in the Province. Encouraged by the result of this interview the Karnatak Hindi Prachar Sabha prepared a scheme of intensive Hindi Prachar to begin with. The need for the trained Hindi teachers to spread Hindi in these parts was now keenly felt. Moreover, with a view to give Hindi a compulsory place in the educational scheme of the Bombay Presidency the urgency of starting a Hindi Sikshak Vidyalaya (Hindi Teachers Training College) was felt more than before and hence to assist the scheme of the Vidyalaya as contemplated by the Karanataka Provincial Hindi Prachar Sabha, an influential local committee with Srimati Krishnabai Panajikar as President and Sjt. Nagaraj, B.A., (Lucknow) Visharad (Allahabad) as Secretary was formed. The response for the Vidyalaya was so encouraging that for 40 seats advertised in the press about 165 applications were received from all over the districts of Bombay Karnataka. The very large number of applications necessitated more students being entertained as the result of which 105 students were admitted to the Vidyalaya. The present strength of the Vidyalaya is 102.

The initiation ceremony of the Vidyalaya took place on 20-12-37, under the Presidentship of Sjt. Vinayak Babaji Joshi, an eminent educationist. Hon. Mr. B.G. Kher kindly consented to perform the opening ceremony of the Vidyalaya; but owing to the heaviness of work the Prime Minister could not come and his tour of the Karnatak Province had to be postponed.

The annual Budget of the Vidyalaya has been estimated at Rs. 10,000. The Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee, the District Boards the Municipalities and the Government of Bombay have been approached for liberal grants. The training period extends over two terms of six months each. The course consists of a study of Hindi Language and Literature, a preliminary course in Urdu, outlines of Kannada Literature and methods of teaching. Compulsory physical culture has been insisted on every student. About a hundred popular lectures on current topics like Provincial Autonomy, Swadeshi movement, Khadi Prachar and Rural Upliftments have been arranged.

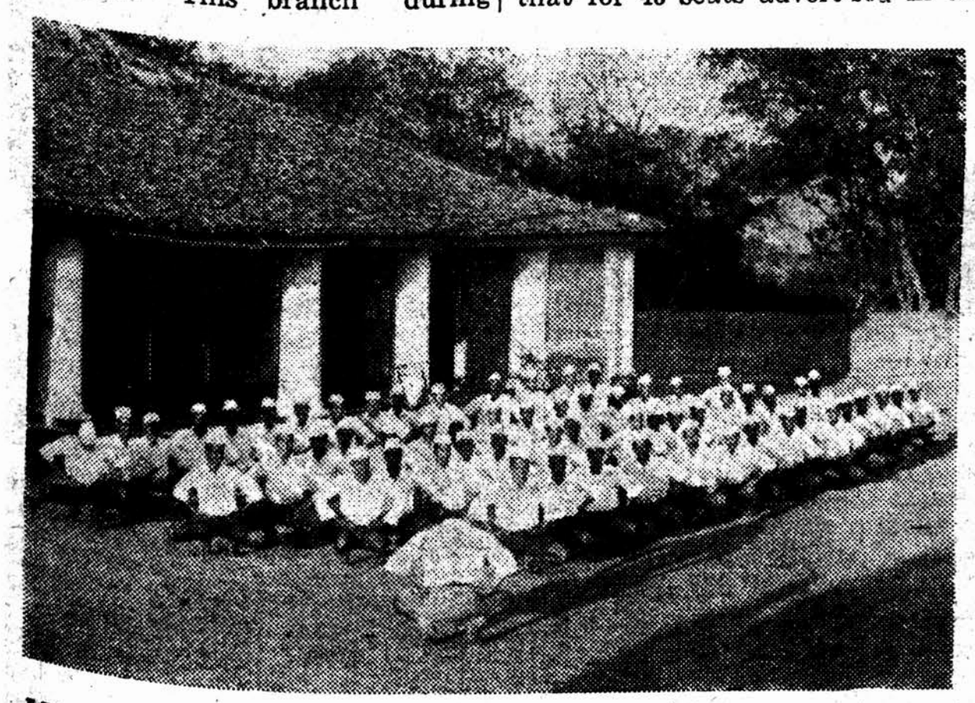
Hindi class under the Banian tree, engaged by the Principal, Syt. N. Nagappa, M. A.

The Staff

Sjt. S. Nagappa, M.A., has been appointed as the Principal of the Vidyalaya and three more highly qualified lecturers are on the staff of the College. Besides these four full time members of the staff, services of three part-time lecturers in Urdu, Kannada and physical culture have been secured. It is gratifying to note that a few eminent scholars have kindly consented to deliver lectures on several current topics related to National Renaissance.

The Vidyalaya is situated in the spacious buildings of the Karnatak Vyayam Vidya Peeth, Fort, Dharwar. A hostel has been attached to the Vidyalaya where facilities for boarding and lodging have been provided for 30 students in the hostel. The hostel is being run on Ashramic lines.

The response now given by the students, the support promised by the guardians and the public at large, the promise given by several local bodies to give financial help and the proposed inclusion of Hindi in the curriculum of the high schools, will tend to show that this Vidyalaya will be the great centre in Karnatak for the spread of the National Language.



Hindustani Drill Class—Mr. B. T. Bapat, the Physical Culturist, engaging them.

Open-air Hindi class engaged by Syt. S. Nagaraj, B. A., Visharad.

NAZIS HOUND A FILM STAR

STAR

Renate Muller, the beautiful girl star of "Sunshine Susie," who was known all over the world for her sunny personality, was reported dead recently in the German press "from natural causes."

It is now possible to reveal the truth of her end. She was in fact hounded to a ghastly suicide by the Nazis. It was known that Renate, though young and at the height of her career, had for some time been in disgrace. The reason was that her correspondent had been opened —as so much is opened in Germany—and it was found that she was still corresponding with an old friend who had left Germany, who had committed the unforgivable crime of being a non-Aryan. She was questioned. Then, without any explanation, two leading parts for which she had been case were cancelled Next she was forbidden to leave Germany.

Shunned by acquaintances, she became more and more alarmed, and in isolation, fearing at any moment to be charged with "race defulement" or "treason" she threw herself from a high window, receiving injuries from which she died in hospital.

REORGANIZING EDUCATION TO BUILD A NATION

(Continued from Page 11.)

however, of teachers from among the successful candidates, preference is given first to those who were decorated in the war, secondly to those who have passed additional competitive examinations; thirdly to those who have published books on their special subject, and lastly to those who have other qualifications. Further, no Italian teacher could be accepted if he had not read such books as "Da Quarto al Vatturno," or "La Storia dei Mille" as related to youths by Abba; "Ricordanze" by Settlembrini, "Villa Gloria" by Pascarella and "I Matiri di Belfiore" by Luzio. These are all among the most patriotic works of Italian historical literature. There is also an attempt made to bring all the teachers into the National Association of Primary School Teachers which has a membership at present of over 80,000. The aims of this Association are "first, to encourage the general cultural education of the teachers, and secondly, to expound the new concept of life of history and of the nation which Fascism has affirmed to be the keystone of its action and of its future." There are also educational reviews and journals, which bring the nationalist ideas of the educational leaders, to the rank and file of the teachers. Thus the outlook and sentiments of the teachers are controlled and moulded in the supreme effort in the interest and welfare of the nation.

Being firmly convinced that children of to-day are the citizens of to-morrow, and that the future of Fascism depends on their education, the Fascist regime has also created different kinds of youth organizations. They now include more than a million members. Notable among the youth organizations are:—"Balilla" which is open to children between 8 and 14 years of age; "Avanguardia" takes care of older boys from 14 to 18 years of age. Corresponding to these, there are organizations, known as "Piccolo Italiane" and "Giovane Italiane" for younger and older girls, and their membership is over 300,000. The patriotic organizations for girls provide their members with uniforms,—white blouses, black skirts, white stockings and black berets. They are taught the elements of Fascism, shown patriotic films and are taken on pilgrimage to war monuments; they are also given good physical education. When the older boys pass out of "Avanguardia," they are admitted into the "Militia." And on the occasion of the spectacular swearing in ceremony, they take the following vow: "I swear to obey the orders of the Duce without question, and to serve the cause of the Fascist revolution with all my strength and,

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Mussolini reviews troops on their way to Abyssinia.

Indian Provinces: Need For Redistribution In Linguistic Basis

(BY B. N. DATAR)

It is agreed on all hands that some sort of a Federation is an absolute necessity in India, in view of the peculiar conditions obtaining in our country. The Indian nation has resolved to settle the details of this Federation through a duly constituted Constituent Assembly. The British Government, on the other hand, is anxious to impose a Federation of their choice upon India. This conflict is bound to end in a victory for India. For purposes of this article it is not necessary to pursue this matter here. But a Federation to be successful must satisfy certain preliminary conditions and, in my opinion, redistribution of the Indian Provinces, on a systematic basis is one of such fundamental conditions.

Chastie Divisions

As Prof. K. T. Shah has pointed out in his "Federal Structure", "the present division of provinces was made for administrative reasons, only to suit the convenience of British Administrators or because of historic reasons connected with the growth of British power". It has little to do with linguistic, cultural or economic considerations. Large tracts containing diverse elements have been tacked on under different administrative units. This administrative jumble has not proved successful even administratively, and within the orbit of different provincial units large areas have remained neglected and undeveloped. Many sub-nationalities and important cultural and linguistic groups have been denied self-expression. The disadvantages inherent in such a heterogeneous arrangement have been coming out more prominently since the advent of Provincial Atonomy even of a watered type as that adumberated in the Government of India Act of 1935.

Linguistic Basis

During the last 30 or 35 years some changes have been made in respect of some provinces and even the Government of India have now accepted the principle of the redistribution of India on a linguistic basis. Bengal, which is the largest linguistic unit in India with the exception of the Hindustani speaking tracts in U. P. and elsewhere, was sought to be dismembered and parcelled out with other linguistic groups in different administrations by the famous Curzonian Partition of Bengal. It rightly refused to tolerate this insulting dissability and raised a hue and cry over it, so much so that what was proclaimed from the house-tops as a "settled fact" had to be "unsettled" by the late King George V, in the Delhi Durbar in 1912. Since then certain other linguistic tracts have been formed into independent provinces such as Assam and Bihar and recently Sind and Orissa.

A Re-Distribution

Still, this problem has remained unattended to in respect of a number of important linguistic principalities. The presidencies of Bombay and Madras and the C. P. contain within their areas diverse elements which might well form separate provincial units. An attempt is made in the following paragraphs to show that further provinces will have to be formed so as to make India a combination of compact and autonomous unit. The composite and multi-lingual presidencies of Bambay and Madras will have to be split up, as also the C.P. In their places will emerge the new provinces of Gujerat, Maharashtra and Berar, Karnatka, Andhra, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala. This arrangement will necessitate the extinction of the Central Provinces altogether; its Marathi areas being added on to those in the present Bombay Presidency so as together to form the future Maharashtra Province. If a fiction and a sentiment have to be respected there is no objection to styling this province as 'Maharashtra and Berar'. The Hindi portion may either be joined with the U.P. or if the huge Hindustani speaking bloc in the present U.P. Delhi, C.P. and Ajmer provinces is found to be much too big—as it really is—for a single province, we may have two or more suitable administrative units in their places. We may have a Central Hindi Province known as the "Hind" Province and also another by name "Mahakosala."

Sub-Federation

Dr. Pattabbi Sita Ramaya has recently suggested that formation of sub-federation so as to unite for common purposes certain common linguistic areas in and out of British India. Asscording to this proposal the future Gujerat province may form a sub-federation with the adjoining Gujerat and Kathiawar States. Similarly Karnataka will enter into a sub-federation with Mysore, Hyderabad, and the so-called S. M. C. States, so far as the Kannada areas in these States are concerned. The future Kerala provinces will form a sub-federation with the States of Cochin and Travancore and the Andhra provinces with Hyderabad. This idea of sub-federation should be pursued and a well- laid-out proposal placed before the public. It has the unique advantage of bringing the British Indian and States subjects on a common platform in respect of a number of closely related and common subjects such as education and the like.

Claims Of Andhra And Karnatak

It is a problematical question when the States would enter a Federation in British India. It is also not known when a Federation will come into existence for the whole of India Irrespective of these considerations, it is necessary to pursue this subject and press the claims of long suffering sub-nationalities in this respect like the Andhras and Karnatakas. These two linguistic blocs have been the worst sufferers under the preeent hap-hazard arrangment. With all the best will in the world, even the Congress ministries in Bombay and Madras, cannot do full justice to the legitimate aspirations of these people. Hence it is that they have been trying hard to focus the attention of the Government and the people of India on this question. They cannot wait till a Federation comes into existence. Orissa was not called upon to wait in this respect. The case of Karnataka for separate province (as also the case of Andhras)—is far stronger even financially than that of the Uriyas.

Not Impracticable

The All-India Congress has been always in favour of such a redistribution. Within its jurisdiction provinces have been linguistically formed and have been most successfully functioning. The A.I.C.C. at Calcutta has called upon the Congress Governments in Bombay and Madras to undertake measures for the formation of separate provinces for Andhra and Karnataka. Resolutions in favour of such proposals will soon be placed before both the Houses of Legislatures in Bombay and Madras. It is expected that they will be duly adopted. With the support of the Congress the people in Andhra and Karnataka have decided to leave no stone unturned to make this a live and acute problem in Indian politics. It is expected that even the British Government will have to accede to such a legitimate and highly reasonable proposal. The Governor of Bombay, the other day, dubbed this priblem as impracticable. He will soon find that it is not only practicable but that his Masters in England will have to accept it and from new provinces for Andhra and Karnataka amongst others. Let not, therefore, the people in these provinces be deterred in their task. Let them go on undisturbed by the views aired such provincial satraps. If they do so it may confidently be said that at a very early date they will stand on their own legs and have autonomous provinces formed for their present dismembered areas.

Maharashtra's Mind

Approbation For Bombay Cabinet's Work

The comments appearing in the Marathi newspapers, generally representing various party views, show that the proceedings of the recently concluded session of the Bombay Legislature have roused a feeling of satisfaction at the Congress Government's efforts to take up the cause of the needy in the countryside including the Harijans. Panegyrics are particularly offered to Government for the protection they have given to the small-holder by making it legal to save 'bagayat' land not exceeding six acres and 'jirayat' land not exceeding 18 acres from attachment by any sowkar and giving option to Muslims to vote in joint electorates if they so choose in the District Board Elections. Mr. L. M. Patil, Minister for Local Self-Government, has uniformly come in for particular notice for the strong reply he made to Sir Ali Mahomad Khan Dehlavi, the Opposition leader, during the discussion on the Local Board's Bill.

Not that there are not newspapers which do not find any fault whatever with the Bill. While there is satisfaction for having extended the limits of non-attachable land from 5 and 15 acres to 6 and 18 acres respectively in the case of 'bagayat' and 'jirayat' land, the Independent L. Party's organ, "Janata" and the Democratic Swarajist Press have taken a severely critical attitude for not accepting the amendments of Messrs. Jamnadas Mehta and G. K. Phadke, which sought to extend the protection from private sowkari attachments to the Co-operative Credit Societies and Government's Revenue Department attachments also.

Whatever feelings may have been roused during the election, with the settling down of the Kher Ministry and its reassuring administration in many respects have reconciled leading elements in the Democratic Swaraj Party to Congress rule and Congress supremacy. The first good gesture was made by Mr. N. C. Kelkar in a signed article in the "Kesari" blessing the Kher Cabinet and advising his Democratic Swarajist followers to vie with Congressmen in suggesting better and better constructive measures calculated to make for public weal. The attitude that Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and his colleagues took in the Poona and Bombay sessions was often critical, but generally sympathetic to the Congress Government. Mr. Mehta's criticism has been, on the whole, helpful to the Congress Cabinet. In Poona, the Democrats as Congressmen are joining most Congress celebrations, although they had their own Independence Day and pledge recently. There is no doubt that their mentality is slightly different from that of the Congressmen but not necessarily in conflict.

The trustees of the Kesari-Maharatta trust are being congratulated everywhere on the special number of "Sahyadri" magazine that they have recently published. Contributions from prominent exponents of the Socialist creed and its many variations in Maharashtra, as well as those who are opposed to it have been published in the special number. Among the contributors are such prominent men as Messrs. S. A. Dange, S.M. Joshi, Achyut Patwardhan, S.D. Javdekar and M. G. Gore. Mr. R. Palme Dutt, Mr. M. N. Roy, Sir Stafford Cripps have also contributed their articles. Mr. J. S. Karandikar, editor of "Kesari" also writes an article attacking the Socialist conception lock, stock and barrel. He calls the Socialist ideal an idiotic eccentricity and the means adopted by various schools of the Socialists all over the world misguided means. He looks upon all Marxism as perverseness and wickedness. The whole of the younger Maharashtra considers it as its misfortune that such a gentleman should be in charge of so influential a journal as "Kesari". It must be noted however that Mr. Karandikar is otherwise highly respected for his purity of character, bordering on saintliness and his unalloytd nationalism of about forty years' standing. The anti-Socialist writings in "Kesari" and the Socialist tone of the "Mahratta," while Mr. T. V. Parvate was editor of that paper once again came back to the mind of many when articles in favour and against Socialism were once again collected in this special number of "Sahyadri".

Socialist Literature In Marathi

REACTION TO MR. KESHAV RAO JEDHE'S ELECTION

(By "UBIQUITY.")

Keshvrao Jedhe

The unanimous election of Mr. K. M. Jedhe to the Presidentship of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, on the motion of Mr. Shankarrao Deo himself has been hailed all over Maharashtra. It is considered to signify the end of the once very prominent Brahmin-non-Brahmin controversy. Mr. Jedhe joined the Satyagraha movement in 1930 and since then has done great work among the peasantry of Maharashtra to rouse them to their real grievances, which were chiefly social and economic. The non-Brahmin Party, which for some time thought that it was the Brahmins who stood in their way of socio-economic betterment, soon discovered that it was really British Imperialism, which, without respect to caste, creed and religion stood in the way of their uplift. Mr. Jedhe and Mr. Latthe with their friends like Mr. More, Bagade, Patil, Shinde and others in various districts of Maharashtra did a good deal to bring this home to the Maharashtra peasantry. As their leader, Mr. Jedhe from his new position will be able to continue his work with greater effect. With this idea, the members of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee have elected him to the Presidentship. The rising generation of Maharashtra Socialists, in particular, are very hopeful about Mr. Jedhe pushing on the Labour and Peasant movement against all vested interests to its logical conclusion.

Marathi Literary Conference

As expected Mr. Vinayak Savarkar was elected to the Presidentship of the Marathi Literary Conference to be held in Bombay during the Easter Holidays. Besides being a patriot of glorious record, Mr. Savarkar is author of many books in Marathi, several of which are still proscribed. His 'Mazzini' was once the craze of Maharashtra youth. The ban on that book is still there in spite of many protests from public and literary men in Maharashtra. As against four other names which included those of Rao Saheb Sardesai of the Peshwa Daftar fame and Pro. D.V. Potadar, Mr. Savarkar was elected by a very large majority. Mr. Savarkar is known for his campaign of exclusion of English, Arabic and Persian words from the Marathi language, even though they have settled down in the classical prose and poetry for hundreds of years. A large number of young and old writers in Marathi totally disagree with Mr. Savarkar in this campaign. He is expected to make a pronouncement on this subject. His other campaign of script reform is more reasonable and favourably considered by many. Mr. Justice M. R. Jayakar is elected Chairman of the Reception Committee.

REORGANIZING EDUCATION TO BUILD A NATION

(Continued From Page 54)

if necessary, with my blood." And having sworn this oath, each boy receives a rifle as symbol of his faith and a means of fulfilling his duty to his country.

The purpose of the youth organizations is "to train boys both physically and morally that they may be worthy of the new order of Italian life," and to bring them under the romantic spell of Fascism. With the help of these youth organizations and the use of the Fascist symbolism, and through the agency of the school and the cult of Mussolini, the new regime is trying to raise up a new generation of citizens to revive the ancient greatness and glories of the Roman Empire No such conscious effort has been made by any modern State with the exception of Soviet Russia. This new venture in education is, indeed, a striking example of a systematic and determined attempt to utilize all the known instrumentalities of civic education for the stimulation of state pride and loyalty. Italy has certainly a lesson to teach us, and that is that India too, whose people have been deprived of their manliness, skill and national pride, can soon take her place among the respected nations of the world, if only those, who are responsible for the education of the youth, consciously use the school for training them in national ideals.

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PHYSICAL TRAINING AND SPORTS IN INDIA

A STRONG PLEA FOR A NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

By J. C. MAITRA.

It is a matter of extreme gratification to me that the intensive campaign which I have pursuing through the columns of the "Bombay Chronicle" during the last few years in regard to the compulsory physical education and training in India appears to be bearing fruit at last. The Congress Governments of Bombay and C. P. soon after their accession to office, appointed Special Committees to draw up plans for the physical education and training of the student population of their respective provinces. Both these Committees have submitted their reports and they are now before the public.

The Bombay Committee has made recommendations more or less on the lines of the 1927-29 Committee presided over by Mr. K. M. Munshi (now the Hon. Minister for Law and Order). This is, of course, natural having regard to the fact that two members of that Committee, J. G. Gune (now Swami Kuvalayananda) and C. B. Purani were Chairman and Secretary respectively of the present Committee. If anything, they emphasise the necessity and urgency of putting those recommendations into effect.

Ideal Of Physical Education

The Committee has done well in reiterating the ideal of physical education in the report. "The ideal of physical education," it states, "is not merely to build up a powerful and healthy body, but also to evoke and foster those personal and civic virtues in pupils which would make them better citizens whether they choose to be civilians or soldiers in their after life. Leaders of physical education all over the world now recognise the closest association of the body and mind, and have come to the conclusion that the education of one cannot be divorced from the education of the other. Hence as remarked by Marshall and Rees, "Physical education is but one aspect of the larger problem of education in general, and any system which divorces, or tends to divorce, the physical from the moral and intellectual aspects of life, is thoroughly unsound."

Its Different Aspects

Having thus enunciated their ideal of physical education, the Committee have lucidly discussed the different aspects of their scheme from psychological and physiological aspects to National aspects—of physical education. It is not possible to discuss them in course of this short article. The Committee, however claims that "the scheme is conceived with the idea of making our boys physically, mentally, morally and spiritually strong. Hence it tries to eliminate all those factors which tend to weaken the moral and spiritual fibre of our youth. India has already started assuming an erect posture on the strength of her moral and spiritual backbone". This scheme proposes to so strengthen that moral and spiritual backbone as would enable India to play her part honourably in the affairs of the world, and lead humanity to a state of universal brotherhood.

Compulsion Imperative

I do not intend also to enter into the details of the courses of physical education which the Committee has prescribed, because they are all capable of easy adjustment and changes later on. What I am particularly anxious about is that a beginning should be made in imparting physical education to the younger generation as soon as possible. The Kuvalayananda Committee remarks, "Our schools—both primary and secondary—have been primarily designed for class-room work, physical education and outdoor work being regarded as extramural activities. It is most essential to bring about an immediate change in this outlook and, in order to secure this end, it is essential that Government should lay down that physical education shall hereafter be a compulsory subject, shall have the same status as the mother tongue, history or mathematics."

Qualified Instructors

"It is most essential", the Report proceeds, "that the majority of the class-room teachers should also be physical instructors. The problem of supplying qualified teachers is, therefore, two-fold. Firstly, the school must have the services of one or more specialists, who have mastered the theory as well as practice of physical education, who can study the local problems and devise suitable schemes to meet local needs and who will command in the school sufficient influence to secure the fullest co-operation of their colleagues. Secondly, every teacher in the school must be games-minded, and be able to control the classes on the playground as well as in the class-room."

A Training Institute

For this two-fold problem the Committee recommends a two-fold solution. Firstly, it recommends the institution (from June 1938) of a Training Institute for Physical Education, modelled on the lines of the Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education at Madras. Admission to this Institute shall be open to graduates—whether they are or are not working as teachers—and the course will extend to about nine months, from June to March, the examination being held in April. The course of studies will contain among other subjects.

1. Psychology and principles of physical education.
2. Material and methods of physical education.
3. Elementary knowledge of human body and principles of hygiene.
4. Principles of physical examination and first aid.
5. Elements of sociology and the importance of healthful life.
6. Physical activities, conduct of games and organisation of physical education in schools.
7. Camping and Scouting.
8. Mother-craft and infant-care (for women students).

J. C. Maitra.

Women's Quota

The tuition at this Training Institute shall be free, and about 10 per cent of the students under training should receive stipends. When enlisting students for this Institute half the number of places may be given to women applicants, the total number of admissions being 100.

The staff of this Institute should consist of five members and the majority view is that the Principal should be a member of B.E.S. Class I and two of his assistants should be B.E.S. Class II. Two of the five posts should preferably be filled by qualified women teachers. It is further suggested that the Principal's post be filled by an Indian with the required qualifications.

Need For A College

The Committee, however, admits that if physical education is to develop as a science, and if corrective and remedial work which should legitimately form a part of physical education, is to be organised satisfactorily, the Government should investigate the possibility of establishing at an early date a college also in this province. The College of Physical Education should be on a par with the College of Engineering, with a three years' course after passing the Intermediate in Science.

The Cost

It is expected that when the physical education scheme outlined in Committee's proposals is in full swing the expenses of secondary schools will go up by about 10 per cent. and in primary schools by about 5 per cent., or each child in a secondary school will cost about Rs. 6 more and a child in the primary school will cost about Re. 1 more than now.

In the opinion of the Committee, Government should agree to pay 25 per cent. of the reasonable expenditure on physical education incurred by a secondary school and 50 per cent to 66 per cent. of that incurred by municipalities and local boards. The Government's share will thus be about Rs. 1,20,000 for secondary schools and Rs. 6,00,000 for primary schools. Supposing this full measure is reached in six years, an optimistic supposition, the cost to Government in the first year, for grants on recurring expenditure will be Rs. 1,20,000. If we add to this, the cost of securing playgrounds, Rs. 25,000, the secondary teachers short-term courses, Rs. 74,000 and the cost of maintaining the four instructors for the primary schools in rural areas Rs. 10,000, the expenditure for the first year need not be more than Rs. 2,54,000.

The Wider Problem

According to the Committee, again "at least at present for every child of school-going age attending school, two are kept outside and even when the former are well provided for in respect of physical education, the problem will be solved only 33 per cent. We cannot afford to wait till all children of school-going age are brought to school and even when this consummation is reached there will still remain a large number of children between the ages of 11 and 18—the age best suited for physical development for whom no schooling is provided under the Compulsory Education Act, at present. The problem of the physical education of these children is perhaps, under a narrow interpretation of the terms of reference, outside the purview of the Committee, but the problem is so important that the Committee cannot afford to ignore it altogether".

A Standing Committee

It is, therefore, recommended that the Government should appoint a Statutory Standing Committee to advise the Minister of Education on all matters of physical education connected with school-going children as well as others. The Committee should consist of:—

(a) The Director of Public Instruction.

(b) The Director of Public Health.

(c) The Principal of Training Institute (or Chief Inspector of Physical Education), and

(d) Six non-official members, nominated by Government, at least one of whom shall be a qualified medical man and one shall be a lady. The Chairman will be nominated by Government from among the non-official members.

Propaganda

It is expected that the Committee will meet at least once in

(Continued on Page 57).

SCIENCE OF YOGA

A Unique Scientific Cultural Heritage Of Aryan Civilisation

By SHRI YOGENDRA

Orientalists unacquainted with the elaborate practical technique of Yoga, while recognizing it as a philosophy and religion, underestimated its highly useful and scientific import (most likely through preconceived notions, misinformation or lack of information, prejudice, etc.); and thus the Science of Yoga passed on as mysticism, black magic, juggiery and pseudo-supernatural trickery.

Scientific Evaluation

That behind the network of mysticism and metaphysical speculations, there existed principles of great scientific merit in the secret technique of the many yoga processes remained unsuspected; and as a consequence, scientific Yoga never gained recognition at the hands of the modern scientists.

Unlike other sciences capable only of objective results, Yoga deals with the art of life as a synthetic whole and concerns itself with a subjective scientific study and training of the body, mind and soul all at once and as a whole. The results naturally are very far-reaching, extremely valuable and fully reliable. For the science of Yoga does not study man by bits but as a whole, and its value for that very reason is highly important.

As one who has made a life-study of this subject and has undergone the yoga processes for the past twenty years, and further having already observed the results of these methods in the Yoga Institutes, both in India and America where a large number of students and patients were treated under medical supervision, combined with clinical and laboratory tests, I consider that the scheme of scientific Yoga is thoroughly rational and in conformity with the knowledge of our modern sciences. Moreover, I am convinced that the science of Yoga is capable of any exacting investigations or analytical study from an experimental point of view. Modern investigations in medical and other sciences when studied comparatively clearly indicate that what the yogins claim is no exaggeration.

If we at all have reasons to doubt the practical utility and scientific value of hygiene both personal and domestic, preventive and curative sciences, physiology and psychology, we may as well so far doubt the practical utility and scientific merit of the Yoga exercises in these respects. I am certain that, when the science of Yoga will be studied by the oriental scholars and scientists as closely as they have explored other branches of ancient civilization, a new field of investigation will open before them of wider extent than any other that has yet been explored, or even known to exist.

Modern Scientific Corroborations

Setting aside the claims of spiritual or supernatural advantages of practical Yoga, it is beyond doubt that it can prove extremely serviceable to a layman in his everyday life. Even though the findings of the earlier yogins could not be wholly incorporated in our present scheme of living—having considerably changed in environments, and it is really the environments that give value to any culture—nor be fully appreciated by modern scientists, it is no less true that the yogin was then, no less than are Einstein, Bragg, Millikan to-day, stimulated by such forces of Nature as reached his senses, to explore them with such powers as he had.

That practical Yoga offers a vast field of investigation to the scientists goes without saying, when the most exhaustive and critical study undertaken by and many scientific truths known to the yogins, in respect of psychology (the theory of "citta" and "citta-vrttis), psycho-analysis (the manascakra and its eight-fold significance), psycho-physiology (the parallelism of citta and prana), physiology (especially endocrinology and neorology), rational therapy (elimination of poisons from the body through natural means), personal hygiene (both physical and mental prophylaxis), rejuvenation (replacement of new tissues and noble cells through suddhi and hibernation giving periods of rest to wested organs) and such other subjects in applied sciences of extreme interest are realized.

Voronoff, Carrel and others searching for means of rejuvenation; Winslow, Pyle, Howard, Rosenau and others in physical prophylaxis; Kellogg, Lust, Lindhlar, Lerch and other physicians with belief in Nature Cure, and the theories and methods they have employed in therapeutics; Crehore, Stiles, Williams and others in physiology; Berman and Halliburton with belief in psycho-physiological parallelism; Adler, Freud and their followers in psychoanalysis expounding the conscious and the subconscious; Hegel, Spinoza, Bergson, Ward and others in psychology—all these authorities in various branches of science have contributed theories and scientific facts, methods and practical technique more or less closely or remotely allied to the practical teachings and processes of scientific Yoga.

What Is Required?

What is essentially required to prove the many claims of scientific Yoga is an elaborate research institution working on the various applied sciences abovementioned conducted by research students specializing in various sciences and co-operating with others in corroboration to achieve a synthetic application and evaluation. Also the establishment of a training academy to perpetuate the technique which is handed down by the teachers to the disciples, after due modifications to suit modern conditions of life and living.

Twenty Years Of Pioneering Work

Twenty years ago, this work was started single-handedly on a modest scale without any support and noise, when the Yoga institute was first founded in 1918. Even to-day it is carrying on its activities without appeals to public and the evidence collected during the twenty years of its work is really an eye-opener to those who doubt the value of Yoga as a positive science. The accumulated records of activities and achievements in the field of scientific research and clinical data which support the claims of the nature of work undertaken by the Yoga Institutes both in India and America and other affiliated branches are now under compilation and a historical perspective of the work so far done shall be made available (in course of the next few months) to those who earnestly desire to study this unique scientific cultural heritage of the Aryan civilization. (Complete data may be obtained from the Secretary, Yoga Institute at Chowpatty, Bombay. —Ed.)

(National Scouts)

(Continued From Page 49)

of some must be deplored. National causes deserve careful and sympathetic consideration and such consideration must be above all personalities. The majorities in the various legislatures need to exercise careful vigilance and follow carefully the happenings in the Scout Movement. Perhaps measures taken in haste will have to be revised, unless incalculable harm is allowed to be done to unprotected youths of our country. The Ministers must dispassionately judge the situation and then demand rational agreements from all associations. But once a conclusion is reached, there is need for firmness and decision. The entire legislature and the provinces are behind them. The Scouts, who longingly burn to serve the nation, have a right to demand the help and co-operation of the Ministers who have shouldered the responsibilities of office at least to remove the burdens of the past, if they are powerless to build fearlessly for the future.

Duty Of The Public

But the greater responsibility of co-operation lies with the heads of educational institutions and general public. The power of the scout movement, which has not yet been harnessed, has not been realised. The movement has immense potentialists for the improvement of efficiency, for the realease of impulses, and for trained and disciplined action in the cause of the nation. The scout movement is a unique organisation where there is education with interest and pleasure, where there is physical instruction and play, where there is the building of robust manhood in Nature, and where above all there is the training for citizenship and for service. The public must take to the movement with zeal and enthusiasm, for the building of the young is the privilege of the nation. For those who have means, there is no cause more worthy of assistance, than the Scout Movement. The national movement struggles against the immense resources of the Imperial movement.

Unity With Seva Samity

The National Movement has proceeded most systematically for the consolidation of its resources and for the organisation and training of its man-power. The unity established between the I. N. S. A. and the Seva Samiti, thanks to the wise and thoroughly national and selfless leadership of the latter, and the will and earnest aspirations of the former, have helped to close up the national ranks. With this strength the ultimate triumph of the national cause is assured, especially as the rank and file of the B. P. Movement and a large section of their leadership can be relied upon to stand by the national cause.

The I. N. S. A. appeals to the nation and the Congress to make their cause the cause of the nation. We work for unceasing and loyal service of our dear Motherland. Will not the people of the Motherland stand by a worthy national cause, a cause that promises to build the Manhood, Organisation and Ideals of her youth?

Public Approval

There is not the slightest cause of fear of the want of public support. That support has been evident during the last many months from the whole-hearted and enthusiastic co-operation of the entire national press of the country—a co-operation which the Seva Samiti and the I. N. S. A have cherished with loyal gratitude. That public support was evident by the unique triumph of the Seva Samiti Mela at Calcutta where 5,000 youths from all over India gathered to honour the national traditions of our motherland. The unique unanimity of the Allahabad Conference, especially the wonderful spirit which prevailed at the conference, and the fearless patriotism of the Nawab of Chhatari, Mr. Thaddaeus and the other representatives of the B. P. Association have given hopes to all that on every side and in all hearts the love of the Motherland is supreme.

Local Initiative

But this great power of public support must be harnessed into activity. The greatest expression of public support is local initiative. In every school, every village, in every town, local initiative must work. The entire organisation of the Seva Samiti and the I. N. S. A. are at the willing service of bold enthusiasts Local leaders, principals of schools, Congress committees, District Boards and Municipalities must organise District Associations and send up men and women for training. The Provincial Associations must be built up, firm as rock, to put their programmes into practice and restore the unique ideals of the movement from their past deterioration. When our nation learns to co-operate in action, when the rich in a spirit of service agree to mother all national causes, the triumph of our cause is assured.

PHYSICAL TRAINING AND SPORTS IN INDIA

(Continued from Page 56.)

three months and take a periodical review of physical education activities in the province and suggest measures of improvement. It is further expected that the Chairman of the Committee will be the propaganda officer who, with the help of the Chief Inspector of Physical Education, will organise lectures and displays, physical education weeks and camps in which school children as well as others will participate, broadcast leaflets, arrange for radio talks and cinema films influencing public opinion in this matter, and undertake the publication of hand-books for the detailed guidance of physical instructors working in schools.

Co-ordination Between Provinces

There are various other important recommendations in respect of school-timing, medical inspection of school-going children, their nutrition supply of playgrounds, aids to private gymnasia, etc. I earnestly hope that the Kher Cabinet will not lose much time in acting upon these recommendations. The question of finance is no doubt a thorny problem which was responsible for shelving of the Munshi Committee's report. But the question of physical education and training is most vital to the development and rise of the nation. It will not brook any more delay. There should be a nation-wide campaign for physical education, and training in the country as is being done in the advanced countries of the West and Japan. The Congress Governments should make a concerted move so that a National Advisory Board for physical education, and sports is appointed by the Government of India soon. Unless and until such a body is established in India, the health of the people as a whole cannot be improved or properly tackled.

New Phase Of India's Struggle For Freedom

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO CONGRESS FROM MESSRS. BRADLEY, PALME DUTT AND HARRY POLLIT

Messrs Ben Bradley, Palme Dutt and Harry Pollit send the following greetings to the Haripura Session of the Indian National Congress:—

We take this opportunity to send our heartiest greetings to the Indian National Congress meeting in session in Haripura, and in doing so we wish to convey through the Congress our support and solidarity with the great mass of Indian people throughout the length and breadth of India in their struggle for freedom.

To the Indian people the National Congress represents the National Front uniting all forces in India who are struggling against foreign domination and for national liberation. During the past twelve months we have witnessed the most amazing expressions of solidarity and support of the Indian people for the Congress. The results of the elections in February last with the sweeping majorities won by Congress candidates showed the loyalty of the Indian masses to the Congress. A further indication of this support is shown by the increase in membership of the Congress from 6 lakhs (600,000) to 31 lakhs (3,100,000).

With such support from the people of India, the Congress can face with confidence the important issues which will be dealt with at the forthcoming session, at Haripura. The Haripura Session will mark the entry upon a new phase of India's struggle for freedom.

GOOD WORK OF CONGRESS MINISTRIES

The acceptance of office by the Congress in seven out of the eleven Provincial Legislative Assemblies, raised many important and difficult problems. For over six months now the Congress Ministries have functioned in these seven Provinces. It must be recorded with appreciation that, unlike the non-Congress Ministries in the other Provinces, these Congress Ministries have taken steps to extend the extremely restricted Civil Liberties, removing the ban on numerous organisations, individuals and publications and certain limited measures have been adopted to relieve the burden from the peasantry.

The Congress Ministries, when taking these initial and limited steps, however were immediately brought face to face with problems—problems which must be the concern of the Congress as a whole. An indication of the character of these problems appeared at the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Calcutta in October last.

These initial steps of the Congress Ministers to implement their electoral pledges were not taken without opposition. Pressure was undoubtedly brought to bear, although not ostensibly, by the Governors, who, of course, have their special powers under the Constitution, to limit as far as possible whatever reforms the Congress Ministers sought to initiate. A very recent example of this is the refusal of Sir Maurice G. Hallett, Governor of Bihar, to release political prisoners who are on hunger-strike in Hazaribaug Jail, despite the unanimous recommendation of the Congress Ministers.

The problems thus facing the Congress Ministries are those of carrying out the election programme in relation to the economic questions affecting the workers and peasants: vigorously refusing to operate repressive measures (Sections 144 and 124-A, Criminal Law Amendments Act), refusing to sanction prosecutions against working class and peasant leaders, and cases of alleged sedition; and taking steps to remove from the Statute Book all repressive legislations. Thus the Congress Ministries carry an extremely heavy responsibility to the great mass of Indian people.

On behalf of the National Liberation movement the Congress Ministries have taken upon themselves an extremely difficult task, and a heavy responsibility in which they have to be supported and strengthened—while on the other hand, the Congress Ministries can play an important part in assisting and building the United National Front, which is the main task before the people of India.

MOBILISE THE MASSES

The mobilisation of the masses of the Congress would greatly behind the economic programme strengthen the hands of the Congress Ministries, and enable them more effectively to carry through the economic side of their election programme. This mass movement can be built up on a clear programme of immediate demands for workers, peasants and middle class. Such a programme would be concretely formulated and of a practical character, containing demands such as the bringing of relief to the peasantry by reduction of taxation and a debt moratorium, establishing a minimum wage and reducing hours of labour for the workers, the removal of restrictions on the organisations of the workers, improvements in educational facilities, health, housing, sanitation and the removing from the Statute Book of all repressive laws—which have a possibility of being achieved through the present Legislative Assemblies.

The phenomenal growth of the peasant movement, accompanied by huge peasant demonstrations and the big strike movements of workers in the industrial towns, has been an important feature of the past twelve months. Bihar can boast of 500,000 organised peasants; demonstrations can be organised of 50,000 peasants marching from surrounding villages; this is a feature of what is developing throughout India.

This great strike movement and mass peasant marches demanding redress for their economic grievances, demonstrates the growing consciousness and organization of the masess. We welcome the achievement of Trade Union unity and the extraordinary growth of the Kisan Sabhas. Here we have the limitless potential force which will provide the greatest strength for the Congress. It will also be easily appreciated that the building and strengthening of the working class and peasant movements is not hostile to the Congress or Congress Ministries. The workers and peasants are not merely concerned with some immediate economic relief, but desire to strengthen the whole movement for national liberation and have an extremely important and growing role to play within it.

From this it would be clear that Congress organisation and Congress Ministries will see the Haripura Session of the Congress as the point from which to drive to assist the workers and peasants to win their economic demands: to see the growing strike movement and peasant demonstrations as the growing movement for national liberation, and, therefore, to assist in strengthening and building the Trade Union and Peasant movements, recognising them as the most important sections of the national movement.

If the Faizpur decision to establish mass contacts committees is carried forward at Haripura to a full recognition of the need for collective affiliation of the Trade Union and Peasant organisations, we feel sure that this would greatly strengthen the whole movement.

FEDERAL ISSUE.

The Haripura Session of the Congress will consider the question of the efforts of the Government to impose the Federal side of the Constitution. Lord Lothian has been touring India visiting prominent persons in an endeavour to estimate the opinion of Indian people on this question. He has returned to London and it is suggested that he has brought with him a formula on which the Federal Government will be introduced.

The question of the attitude of the vast mass of the Indian people towards the Federal Government will be decided, not by a formula satisfactory to certain elements in India and to the British Government, but by the Indian National Congress representing the vast masses of Indian people.

The question of how this new stage of the fight will be conducted will depend largely on the strength of the Congress and the development of the mass movement. Very careful consideration will undoubtedly be given by the Haripura session to the attitude of the Congress to the introduction of the Federal Government. The question is raised in this connection of the need to support the struggle of the people in the Indian States for democratic rights and civil liberties.

BRITISH LABOUR'S SUPPORT

We warmly welcome the stand of the Indian National Congress on important international questions, particularly the struggle of the Spanish people against Fascist aggression and in defence of democracy, and support of the people of China in their grim struggle against Japanese militarist aggression. The practical steps taken to effectively boycott Japanese goods, strengthen the bonds of solidarity between the people of a country subjected to foreign imperialism and a people struggling to prevent themselves being brought under foreign domination.

In sending this message of greetings to the Indian National Congress and in raising certain points, we do so in all sincerity, the message representing as it does the feelings of a very large number of people of Great Britain who desire to see India free. We at the same time fully appreciate our own tremendous responsibility in relation to the struggle for the liberation of the Indian people.

We know that much has to be done, and we pledge ourselves to rouse the Labour movement of this country to a complete realization of the implications of the national liberation struggle in India, and to rally the support of the whole Labour movement here as allies with the Indian people in their struggle for freedom.

We are confident that the Haripura Session of the Congress will, as a result of its deliberations, achieve the final unification of all the forces standing for national liberation under the leadership of the Indian National Congress, and that the hands of the Congress Ministries in the various Provinces will be strengthened by its decisions.

This Session of the National Congress held at Haripura in the Bardoli District, which has already achieved fame in connection with the liberation struggle, must give a lead to the Indian National Congress and take a decisive step forward towards the final liberation of the great Indian people.

China's Struggle

In a little Chinese village,
By the Yangtse's flowing waters,
Where the valleys kiss the mountains
And the mountains join the skies,
Where cataracts break the river's journey,
And a million echoes sound,
Lived a Chinese fortune-teller. . .

Chiang, the Chinese fortune-teller,
Saw the days when Chinese soldiers
Would on Chinese soil be laid,
In everlasting sleep and slumber,
Dead, mutiliated, poison-gassed!
Chiang. the Chinese fortune-teller,
Crystal-viewed the day when bombs
Would on the Chinese soil be flung,
Mingling roar with nature's sound.
Thus saw Chiang, the Chinese teller,
Of the days that were to come,
Of the days that now are come!
Chiang-Kai-Shek, the Chinese teller,
However saw a little more
Of the days that are to come,
And he said that China's fight
Would never end till the last invader.

OUT OF CHINESE SOIL WAS DRIVEN!

This poem may be considered to be a mere fantasy in so far as it places Chiang-Kai-Shek, China's "MAN OF DESTINY", in the role of a village sooth-sayer who could fore-tell China's destiny. It is, however, based on a statement made by Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek himself, wherein he says that China would never suffer herself to be ruled by any other nation of her own free will, and even if such a government were compulsorily forced on her, the fight for independence would not cease there and then, but would go on till China regained all that she had lost.

FEDERATION—A CONSTITUTIONAL MONSTER

(By the Hon'ble Mr. K. M. MUNSHI, Home Minister, Bombay Government.)

The Working Committee's resolutions at Wardha reiterating the condemnation of the Federal scheme conveys a genuine expression of the deeper sentiment prevailing in India. The Legislatures in the several Congress Provinces have emphatically denounced the dangerous implications of the scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act. Responsible opinion both from Congress and non-Congress platforms has declared it to be entirely unsuitable to Indian aspirations. Though it is recognised that the adoption of the Federal principle is inevitable in view of Indian conditions, the Federation as conceived by the Government of India Act lacks some of the important characteristics of a true Federation known to students of constitutional history. The adjustments of relations between the autocratic Indian States and the democratic British India has resulted in many curious anomalies. The first test of a Federation is that the Federal States must have direct legal relations with all its citizens, that there must be certain fundamental rights secured to its citizens that all citizens of the Federation must have equality of status and equality of protection before the Federal Law. What do we find here? This Federation does not know of fundamental rights; it has no citizens having direct relations with it. The residents of the provinces do not elect representatives direct to the Federal Assembly and they have no common rights with reference to the Federation. As regards the residents of Indian States, they have no 'locus standi': they are nowhere in the picture at all. Do you want meekly to submit to it simply because the British Statesmen have called it a Federation?

The Tests

Take the next test. One of the requisites of a Federal constitution all over the world is that the Lower Chamber must express the will of the nation. What is the Lower Chamber of this Federation? Two-thirds of it is to consist of representatives of the different provincial assemblies—not of the people of the provinces, but of the assemblies—and one-third of it is to represent medieval autocracies over which in all essential matters paramountcy is always to be paramount. And in the way in which it is tried to cut up and constituted, in no event and in no circumstances, will the Lower House of this Federation reflect the popular opinion of the country or express the national will.

Then, take for instance this test. Is it a Federal Government at all, except by way of courtesy or travesty? All the important departments of Government, the army, foreign affairs, and all the rest of it which form the indicia of sovereignty, are taken away and placed on the unapproachable heights of the Viceregal Lodge. Even essential things like the Reserve Bank and the Railway Board are fields over which the poor Federal Government dare not poach. And even within the restricted sphere which is assigned to the Federal Government, you find that the power of the Viceroy rests supreme restricting and strangling every expression of the national will.

If you want to know what a Federal Government ought to be I need only go back to what in the British Commonwealth an Australian statesman, Sir Henry Parkes, said when he proposed the Australian Federation. In his famous passage when he proposed a Federation of the Australian States in 1890 he siad:—

"But the Federal Government must be a Government especially armed with plenary power for the defence of the country. It must be a Government armed with plenary power for the performance of other functions pertaining to a national Government, such as the building of ships, the enlistment of soldier, and the carrying out of many works in the industrial world which might be necessary for the advancement of a nation.

"It might be wise that some of these powers should come into force with the concurrence of the State or Provincial Legislatures. It might be wise to stipulate for some kind of gradation in approaching the full powers of the Federal Government, or before consummating its full power; but that it should be in design, from the very first, a complete legislative and executive Government, suited to perform the grandest and the highest functions of a nation, could not be a matter of doubt."

The Federation that is proposed by the Government of India Act is a negation of all what Sir Henry Parkes said a Federation should be. The Federal Government that is proposed is not a Government but a mockery of it; and the sooner we say so plainly the better.

Gandhiji's Alternative

"Where is the alternative? This is the only one which holds the field; you have not an alternative." This is the question asked by our critics. But I could remind them of what happened in 1928. In that year the Indian National Congress and many other sections of the Indian public which are outside the Congress, asked for the bread of the Nehru Report; they were given the stone of the Simon Report.

Then, in 1932, when Mahatma Gandhi, as representing the nation, wanted to provide an alternative, all the kindness and courtesy that he received in as that he was locked up in jail and the most powerful organisation which wanted to provide an alternative was denied the right of having a say in the matter. But why the Congress alone? Even Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's alternative, the mildest of mild alternatives that he suggested even His Highness the Aga Khan's alternative—even those alternatives were spurned with contempt. What have we not been doing for the last three years in order to provide alternatives? Have we not asked for a Constituent Assembly? Has not the Bombay Legislative Assembly passed a resolution that we want an alternative, an alternative of a definite character? But we have only been told, "Oh, take this Federation or leave it." It is not a question of our not providing an alternative; it is a question of the other side not wanting an alternative but trying to impose or enforce this Federation, against our will which is resented.

The principle in this question is one of self-determination. Governments do not rest on their merits; they rest on their acceptance by the governed. In the case of India, whatever may be the merits or demerits of the Federation, it is not acceptable to any responsible section of the people of India; and that is sufficient condemnation of it. To impose an unwanted Government against the overwhelming wishes of the governed is monstrous, and cannot be tolerated. It should be short-sighted statesmanship indeed if the British Government in the plentitude of its might enforces this constitutional monster against popular opposition.

Hindu-Muslim Unity—Indian States—And Congress Membership

(Continued from page 4)

Congress members in the country. It must be confessed that the realisation by the people at large that the four-anna membership which is the tiny seed from which has sprung the banyan tree of Chief Ministership of the provinces, and that, therefore, the people must enrol themselves as four anna members has induced persons who have no faith or convictions in the Congress creed and are even doubtful of the permanence of Congress Ministers to enrol themselves by thousands. They do not want to let go their hold on the citadels of power and want to secure their influence upon the Government as in times of old. In this view a lot of fictitious membership has come into being. Whatever may be said to the contrary the fact remains that in this country tribal instincts and clannish instincts have led the people to form combinations of an unnational character. And groups of opposite persuasions have cast in their lot together. Imagine for a moment opponents of the Congress programme standing at the extreme points of socialism on the one side and reaction on the other joining hands to defeat tried workers of the Congress. These are inevitable in the process of evolution of India and are even incidental to it and should not make us feel aghast or throw up our hands in despair with imprecations on our lips. A little patience and a comprehensive study of the events of the past would enable us to discover that in all progressive movements the same permutations and combinations have been practised from time to time and that they are the natural phenomena that repeat themselves in the history of India to-day. They should not be treated as marvels or monsters. Nevertheless the time has arrived when the question has to be seriously considered. By making the habitual wear of Khaddar as condition prerequisite to membership as we had demanded some years ago—we can purge the Congress of these undesirables, and obtain purity in membership. This may be a hardship and may even lead to dwindling of the number. But it will enable the Congress to achieve to a great extent purity of composition as well as of ideal.

Cardinal Issues

From year to year it becomes our duty not merely to survey the events of the past, and summarise the progress of the present but also forecast the course of the future in the light of the experiences that have crossed our path. It may be that we are going back to those methods which we had long abandoned. But progress is not linear in its march. It does not run in straight lines nor is the course circular very much like the progress of a gin horse going round and round all day but never getting beyond the beaten rut. All progress is really curviline and spiral so that we may be going forward and backward. Each time we execute a curve we rise in level. This is very much like a railway train climbing a hill by a spiral path. We come across a scene which we have cleared a moment ago but we see these sights from on a higher level. Every time we see the track below we realise that we are climbing higher and higher. So is our progress in politics. The Indian National Congress is going along a spiral path. Congress membership, States and the Congress, Hindu-Muslim unity, Khaddar and the constructive programme and prohibition, the political as well as economic uplift of the masses, these are the cardinal issues confronting us. But even on these issues clear lines of demarcation have come to be adopted by different schools of thought, notably the Socialist friends as against the rest of Congressmen. The former would not brook the slow pace of the Congress march but would fain accelerate it as best as they could. They resent the restrictive and restraining measures adopted by the Congress Ministers as well as the disciplines imposed upon the labourers and the Kisans by the elderly politicians. Matters are likely to come to a head at Haripura but there is left sufficient political wisdom to avoid an open rupture which, judging from the developments, seems to be not unwelcome to either side.

LATHI FIGHT COMPETITION

Lathi Fight competitions were held at Dadar, Hindu Colony, under the auspices of Bombay and Upanagar Sharirik Shikshan Mandal on 30th January in which Mr. V. G. Pawar won the championship against Mr. Nimbalkar. Last year also he had won the Championship of the same.

Moreover he was declared a Champion of Fari Gadga in the competitions held under the auspices of Deccan Gymkhana at Poona, where there were many competitors.

The Hindu-Muslim Problem

its inevitable concommitant, the rule of the majority. What the Mussalmans are entitled to insist upon justly and legitimately, is that the majority rule should not be a Hindu rule, but the rule of a political majority. That this should be so, lies entirely in the hands of the Mussalmans themselves. But I am afraid, that the Mussalmans for a considerable period now have been doing everything in their power to make the majority rule a purely Hindu rule.

Policy Of Isolation

In the first place they emphasize their own separation and insist on their isolation. They fence themselves round from the majority community by means of separate electorate. They create Muslim parties in the Legislature. In politics, a Mussalman, as such, has no connotations. A loyalist, a liberal, a Congressman, a revolutionary certainly has. When discussing political matters, if I am told that a certain man is a Mussalman, I do not understand what it means. When I am told he is a loyalist, or a Congressman, I know exactly what he stands for and what his views are.

When we leave civic affairs and

(Continued From Page 5)

enter the realm of religion, a Mussalman, as such, has considerable and important significance. He stands for something which is different from what the Hindu stands for. To that extent the Mussalmans are perfectly justified in insisting on their religion and the language through which their religious instruction is imparted being safeguarded, in any constitution which may be granted to India, or when India may acquire for herself. But I have not yet come across any responsible Hindu politician, who has questioned that inalienable right of the Mussalman.

Further a large section of the Mussalmans have been clamouring that the Congress should have nothing whatever to do with the Mussalmans and that the Congress should remain a purely Hindu body, while the Muslim League should have the control of the body and soul of millions of Mussalmans that inhabit this country. I fail to understand why if a Mussalman agrees with the legislative programme of the Congress Party, he should not join that party. The more Mussalmans join the Congress Party in the legislature, the less a Hindu Raj the Congress administration will be.

Unworthy Argument

We have been hearing the cry from lips that should never have uttered it that Islam is in danger and that Mussalmans will become the slaves of Hindus, unless they asserted themselves. To my mind a more unworthy argument has never been advanced. If Islam has existed at all for all these centuries, it has existed because of its inherent strength and I refuse to believe that it is going to be in danger, or overthrown by the Hindus, however large the numbers may be. And if millions of Mussalmans are capable of falling a prey to the blandishment of the Hindus being without any moral or political integrity then they do not deserve any better fate. The sooner they are wiped off the face of India the better. But I refuse to defame my co-religionists in this gross fashion. Among the Mussalmans of India, I have found some of the finest, the bravest, and the most liberty-loving people in the world. I have only to think of the Frontier, and I can picture before myself the virile race that has faced danger and coercion and has stood fast to its loyalty to freedom and non-violence. It is needless to say that in a free India Mussalmans will be able to look after themselves. In fact, India's freedom will not be worth a day's purchase, if its minorities were not happy and contented.

The Only Solution

I for one am against these political pacts and awards. There is too much of a hot house atmosphere about them. A community never learns to stand on its own legs, if it is constantly assisted by props, and it loses its self-confidence and the sense of its own dignity.

The only solution of the problem, if a solution was required, is the constant realisation by Mussalmans that we are the sons of the soil as much as the Hindus are, that this is our own country as much as it is theirs, that we have enriched its traditions as much as they have. We should feel as much ashamed and humiliated in the political subjection of our country as the Hindus are feeling and we ought to feel as proud when the day of Freedom dawns as the Hindus say that they will be.

Germany Squaring The Circle!

Self-Contradictions Of German Autarchy

(By M. P. T. Acharya).

While, it appears, in our economics every intelligent and sensible thing is impossible, many nonsensical things are possible and necessary.

According to Dr. Syrup (a euphemism for quack medicine, but this is a real Dr.), President for State Institute for "Labour mediation and unemployment insurance," Germany requires 200,000 foreign labourers and has agreed to import besides 30,000 Italians, 10,000 each from Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Austria and Holland. That makes 90 thousand till now settled. These are required for nine months. At least as regards Italy, the wages of Italian Labourers imported will be given over to Italian State who will then pay them in Italy in Italian Lire. Another way of securing foreign currency—the labourers being used as pawns, since foreign trade is in deficit. (Perhaps not only the Fascist countries but also less Fascist ones like Austria and Czechoslovakia are ready to export land labourers to Germany—to acquire foreign currencies, a new form of surplus trade—by direct sale of labour.

Exactly Germany which makes economy to make Autarchy successful imports foreign labour among all countries in the world. The richer countries do not want foreign labourers! Funny! How the unimaginable has become real?

And Germany imports foreigners exactly when her unemployed have increased by 1|2 million men! And this Germany wants colonies to export Germans, because the cry is "There are too many people in Germany and they cannot live there!" In all German colonies before the war, there were only 20,000 Germans. Now 200,000 foreigners are required in Germany without capital for export.

Now how much these 100,000 foreign labourers will cost Germany for 9 months? Dr. Syrup says: 35 million Marks. The real argument seems to be that these countries will thus "clear off a part of the debts owed by them to Germany or vice versa—a sort of clearing agreement by deficit country with the help of borrowed labour. What does it matter whether Italians work for Germany or Germany sells goods to Italy? The money has to be paid in foreign currency. And the workmen are ready to work for anyone—for wages—to be able to feed their stomachs.

And Germany wants to make herself self sufficient by restricting imports of goods and creating synthetic products. What is the result? Artificial petrol costs 5 times and synthetic rubber 4 times as much as these natural products. It is argued that the money thus remains and circulates in the country (money is blood or business). True, it remains in the country, but each buyer pays 4 to 5 times as much as he paid for natural products from abroad. But only 20 percent. textile fibres petrol, and rubber required or used are produced synthetically in the country.

In 1935 no foreign workers were required in Germany, in 1937 only 58,000 were there and in 1938 200,000 are wanted. Only in synthetic petrol production 150,000 men are required. The hydrogenating factories alone require 2,000,000,000 marks for erection. And the total products are worth only 125 million marks, which is about what is required to keep them repaired and renewed as well as to provide them with such absolutely necessary foreign materials for running as iron and copper. Add to this 50 million marks for imported labour who must be paid for in foreign currency. There is absolutely no saving of foreign currency, for which purpose alone the so-called Autarchy is propagated and tried. What sense or meaning has all this grandiose and costly scheme? Germans are considered scientific in every field of thinking! At least in the centre of all sciences, they do not seem to be more than fantastic dreamers, if not boobies.

Recently a lady ordered some "linen" in a big shop of Berlin. When the packet came home, there was a slip in it mentioning it should not be washed at above 40 degrees heat. She wanted to change the linen for other goods. The shop told her: certainly we are ready to take back the linen but before we do so you must come with your husband and sign a paper saying: I have refused to take German quality goods! The lady naturally had to take the goods for fear of being persecuted as traitoress—patriotism compelled her to keep the shoddy substitute as quality goods. That is autarchic compulsion necessitated by "patriotism as understood by dictators".

FIGURES TALK

Figures collected by the League of Nations, the staff of the Economist, and others, tell a story of falling production and trade.

Taking the 1929 figures as equalling 100, to give a basis for the calculations, you get this picture:—

World Industrial Production (exclusive of U.S.S.R.) fell from —106.8 in May 1937 to 101.4 in September.

World Trade Index fell from—100 (2nd quarter 1937) to 97.1 3rd quarter.

World Stocks of 12 raw materials rose from—83.3 in June to 101.5 in September.

Prices of Primary Products fell from—156.2 (October 20) to 146.7 (December 15).

Business Activity in U.S.A. fell from—98.3 in October to 89.4 in November.

CRUEL SPORTS

A Discredit To British Empire

The following articles appeared in "The Cruel Sports," London, (January, 1938).

Two enterprises announced during the past month are likely to discredit rather than benefit the British Empire in whose interest they are organised.

One is an arrangement by which sportsmen tourists can make a round of India and "include every form of shooting, from sand grouse to the pursuit of the royal Bengal tiger, with the aid of a special train, at a daily cost equal to that of a gun in a good English peasant shoot."

Sportsmen of this type are the last people who should represent us in the eyes of the people of India.

The other enterprise is a show of "big game trophies" from the British Dominions and Colonies. This will be at the Imperial Institute. A disgusting record of idleness amusing itself by killing beautiful and often rare animals, a practice which ought to be forbidden throughout the Empire.

WORKERS' THEATRE GROWS

The workers' theatre, which has recently been joined by Paul Robeson, is rapidly growing in London. Its new building, a theatre owned by itself, is being constructed by voluntary labour. On a Saturday afternoon over 70 skilled men are to be seen busily employed. Designed by Raglan Squire, son of the great critic Sir John Squire, the theatre will cost £650 instead of £3,000. The men have a wall-newspaper on which they publish letters of complaint, advice and suggestion, wit and humour.

ART IN SOVIET RUSSIA

It Is Not A Luxury But An Essential Part Of Education

(By D. G. TENDULKAR)

THE SEVEN SOVIET ARTS. By Kurt London—365 pages. (Faber and Faber, Ltd.)

How cultural problems are solved in Soviet Russia is the central theme of this book. The attempt is laudable and the author succeeds whenever he states the facts as they are, without his comments. The pious desire of Mr. London was to be not one of those hundred percenters who are fully convinced of their own rightness of view. He had more reason to stick to his principle especially in this case as the author himself acknowledged that this book was written in a very short time.

ART OF THE PEOPLE

The cultural organization of a new society is the most instructive part of the book. "Art no longer remained the prerogative of select classes, but concerned the entire people. It ceased to be a luxury and became an essential component of education and the whole organization of the Society". The equality of the rights of the citizens of the U. S. S. R., irrespective of their nationality and race, in all fields of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an irrevocable law. The civilisation of distant Asiatic or Arctic tribes is at once one of the noblest and most difficult tasks of the Soviets. The results achieved so far are astonishing. Hand in hand with this goes the provision of permanent settlements for Nomad tribes, followed by the raising of their standard of living and their introduction into the world of art. National minorities are not only permitted their own quite distinct intellectual life, but are actually encouraged in its maintenance by all available means.

CHILDREN'S THEATRE

There are about 189 peoples and nationalities in U. S. S. R. During the rule of the Czarist dynasties all these peoples were prevented from following their distinctive national culture. The Russian element had unconditioned supremacy. To-day we find in the territories of the U. S. S. R. theatres in the languages of gipsies, the Mordivirions, the Kirghiz, etc.

It goes to the credit of our liberal author to admit that Germany and U. S. S. R. are directly the opposite of each other in matters of a higher intellectual development of life, as can be seen from the dictum of a prominent German official: "When I hear the word culture, I loosen my revolver".

The part of the book on "Children and the Arts" gives a mine of information. I recommend this part of the book to all and advise them to draw their own conclusions. Let me quote a few lines. "One fine day a fifteen-year-old girl entered the Moscow Soviet. She applied for permission to found a children's theatre and also for a building to be given her. "Who is to be the director?"—she was asked. "I, of course," the girl confidently replied. "Who are you?" "My name is Natalia Satz. My father is the composer, Ilya Satz, who wrote the music for the Blue Bird." Her hearers smiled and hesitated. But there was a man present whose name was Kerdzenzev. He at least had faith in her. A children's theatre ought not be founded by the grown-ups. And Kerdzenzev did everything in his power to accomplish Natalia's wishes. The same Kerdzenzev today is the President of the Central Art Committee. Natalia Satz received her theatre.

The part devoted to contemporary arts is unsatisfactory. I wish the author had reflected more and had not brought his prejudices to interpret Soviet Art as he does. It takes more time and more study to write a book on the Seven Soviet Arts.

ART IS PART OF POLITICAL PROGRAMME

I wish the author had not inflicted on us his epilogue, instead. The following paragraph would have been the best Epilogue.

Soviets are ambitious in improving themselves. "I showed them the English edition of my book "Film Music" in Moscow; the high quality of the production excited such great enthusiasm that they threw over the entire type of the Russian edition (already in corrected proof) and proceeded to produce a book in a new, better and more beautiful form."

Let me make truce with the author for I perfectly agree with Mr. London in his most important statement:

"A people that honours its artists does itself honour. A Government which promotes art as part of its political programme, and assigns to it equal rights with politics and economics can be proud of its intellectual standard. Ten to twenty years of undisturbed development, and the Soviet peoples will have outstripped Western standard of education and mental capacity."

AUSTRALIA'S CONVICT PIONEERS

Not To Be Hush-Hushed

Intense argument has developed in Sydney as to whether convicts and aboriginals who played principal parts in the founding of Australia, 150 years ago, should be included in the pageantry when the anniversary celebrations begin next week, especially as a section of Australian opinion, if small, is still sensitive to references about "convict beginnings." The minister in charge of the celebrations (Mr. Dunningham) has now definitely stated that neither convict nor aboriginal roles will be banned. "While no floats showing unfortunates in broad-arrow garb will be seen in the processions, the part played by convicts cannot be relegated to the backgrounds, he declared. "The official landing of Governor Philip at Farm Cove accompanied by a working party of convict pioneers will be enacted with historical fidelity. Dressed in the roughest of clothing, these convicts who were the victims of a system we do not honour will be seen as they actually were when first they set foot on Australian soil."—"Austral News."

AN INDIAN PARABLE

Two Goddesses, A Rajah And His Minister

(BY G. ANNAJI RAO.)

The Hindus say that Bhagya Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth and opulence) is the twin sister of Daridra Lakshmi, the goddess of poverty. But these twins are rarely found together. Each of them, however, professes the greatest affection for the other. For the moment one of them leaves a place, that moment the other enters it to inquire after her dearest sister.

Their characteristics are also essentially diffrent. Though both are won over by praise and service, they bestow their godly benediction in quite different ways. Bhagya Lakshmi stays in a house whose inmates please her by their devotion and worship, but Daridra Lakshmi leaves a place if propitiated by similar worship.

Again, if you neglect Bhagya Lakshmi, she is displeased and forthwith leaves you. But neglect Daridra Lakshmi, she forthwith sticks to you like a leech.

These goddesses, both of them equally mighty in their respective spheres and hence equally worshipped by the Hindus, once appeared before an Indian Prince, when he was in a forest on a hunting expedition. He was so struck by the dissimilarity in their appearance that he simply stared at them in turn for quite a long while.

Bhagya Lakshmi was beautiful and smiling. He was decked in costly raiment and precious jewels sparkled from her body whenever she moved. A gentle perfume was emanating from her graceful person. Her hair was well combed. With her were four healthy, well-fed, well-dressed children whose names were Sampatti, Santati, Sanmati and Sadgati (prosperity. progeny, wisdom and salvation).

Daridra Lakshmi, though equally handsome, as only a goddess can be, was nevertheless scowling. Unlike her prosperous twin sister, she was dressed in rags, her body was unwashed and unperfumed and her hair was unkempt. She had half a dozen starving children by her side and their names were—drought, dearth, disease, discontent, dissension and death!

Both of them told the Raja that they wanted to get acquainted with his kingdom, but he must first judge between them and tell them which of them was the mightier of the two. He must also truthfully assure them that his subjects were willing to welcome them both. If his answer displeased them—Bhagya Lakshmi threatened to leave him and Daridra Lakshmi threatened to stick to him!

The Raja was perplexed. If he did not please them with a soft answer, the consequences to his kingdom might be disastrous. He, however, had the presence of mind to tell them that he never did anything without first consulting his Minister and he begged for a day's respite to give them a proper answer.

They accordingly promised to meet him at the same place the next day.

The Raja went home and sent for his Minister, to whom he explained the situation. The Minister was a wise one, well read in the Shastras.

"Tell the goddesses, Maharaj!" was his advice—"that both of them are equally great and equally welcome and that we seek the protection of both of them. But Bhagya Lakshmi is welcome to stay inside our dominions while Daridra Lakshmi is welcome to stay outside the dominions, so that both of them may watch over our welfare."

Next day the Raja carried this soft answer to the goddesses. They were both so greatly pleased with it, that they showed their pleasure in their characteristic ways.

Bhagya Lakshmi stayed inside the kingdom, while Daridra Lakshmi stayed out!

Moral: Wise statesmen should care as much for the welfare of the poor as for the welfare of the rich, to ensure the State's prosperity.

THE TESTING TIME

(Continued from Page 3.)

make any substantial political or economic progress either in opposition or in power. But whatever the handicaps and drawbacks of the Constitution, it is expected, in view of the Congress creed, that the normal standard of public administration should be raised and a high tone and level of disinterested public service should be introduced.

The power of resistance and fighting spirit that was reared and nursed after tremendous suffering and sacrifice for years are gradually waning being rapidly replaced by the more comfortable and safer method of Parliamentarism. Only yesterday, the Congress President and his followers were knocking at peasants huts and workers' chawls awakening their lethargic and paralysed conscience, stressing the importance and the necessity of mass action and appealing for the formation of Kisan Sabhas and Workers' Unions. To-day, the same organisation practically bans these mass movements and in some places, brings into operation the very machinery it had pledged to destroy, to suppress these national activities.

However, the change in the policies and programmes may be excused and even explained away as changing tactics is common to all political organisations, but the lowering of the moral stamina would sound the death knell to an institution because such a lapse would destroy the very foundation on which the whole structure is propped up.

Need For Healthy Criticism

Healthy criticism through the Press and platform and vigorous and effective opposition in Parliaments are quite essential for proper growth and development of popular governments. What is wrong deserves to be thoroughly exposed and ruthlessly denounced, no matter from what quarter or source it emanates. Congress Ministries, like the wife of Caesar, must be absolutely above suspicion, and even an appearance of patronage or favouritism of any kind must be avoided. For, once the public confidence in the administration is lost and it is suspected that the situation is exploited for private ends and selfish purposes, then it will be difficult and almost impossible to retrieve the position. Non-fulfilment of pledges will be excused, but positive moral lapses will never be forgotten or forgiven.

CHILDREN'S OWN CORNER

CONDUCTED BY

THE ALL INDIA CHILDREN'S ASSOCIATION

INCORPORATING BALKAN-JI-BARI

[MOTTO. EDUCATION & ENTERTAINMENT]

My dear Sisters & Brothers,

Like every year, this time also our elders will be holding the Congress Sessions at Haripura, when you will read this Corner. They have been meeting like that since last fifty-one years to consider how our country may achieve freedom!

You know, to get back the lost liberty is not at all an easy thing. Those who enslaved us about two hundred years back could do it only after making great sacrifices of leaving their homes, comforts, and what not..

Similarly if now we must attain the freedom, we have to make sound sacrifice. I may tell you that as and when we have made

Enjoying the God's out-of-doors

greater sacrifices, so and then we have advanced a step forward to that goal of freedom.

Comparing our condition as it is to-day to that of our ancestors, I find that we are so backwards in everything that it is hardly possible to even think if we are worthy of being free! That is what some say....

As for me, I would of course prefer freedom to anything. In my opinion, when we are free, we could look to our wants and fill up the deficiencies to our best advantage—Then there will be hardly any hindrances to let us remain in the dark, as we are to-day.

No doubt, however, the times have changed a little now. There is awakening in the country. The Congress Ministry has more so made us believe that we are to some extent Rulers of our country now. Let us hope that progress will go further and further until we have achieved our Independence.

This year the President of the Congress is Babu Subhas Chandra Bose. Personally I have some attraction and real regard for him. I believe and trust that under the regime of his presidentship. our country will be nearer her goal....Will you not all gird up your loins and help him!

AWARDS OF PRIZES

The results of the last competition and a new competition for you all will be published in the next week's issue. In the meanwhile, I may just remind you that the date for receiving entries of the Five-Rupees Per Month For A Year Scholarship Prize Competition has been extended to 28th February 1938.

The Voting Paper for the purpose also appears in the February issue of "PUSHPA—The Children's Own Paper," which you can send for from the Manager 31 Tribhovan Road, Bombay 4 by enclosing three annas stamps. As usual the issue contains very beautiful pictures and most interesting reading matter.

The following is the list of those sisters and brothers who won prizes in various competitions at the Fourth All-India Children's Gathering held here at Bombay in December last.

SPORTS.

Girl 8 to 10 years

Lemon And Spoon Race

(1) Sis. Indra Govindram, Hyderabad.
(2) Sis. Savitri Surji, Bombay.
(3) Sis. Bhagi Tolaram, Karachi.

MUSICAL CHAIRS.

(1) Sis. Indra Govindram, Hyderabad.
(2) Sis. Bhagi Tolaram, Karachi.

During a Fight.

(3) Sis. Sushila Gokaldas, Karachi.

GIRLS 10 TO 12 YEARS

POTATO RACE.

(1) Sis. Sheila Motwane, Khar.
(2) Sis. Savitri Surji, Bombay.
(3) Sis. Sundri Choitram. Karachi.

FLAG RACE.

(1) Sis. Lila's Party, Hyderabad.
(2) Sis. Kanti's Party, Karachi.

SACK RACE.

(1) Sis. Parvati Sunderdas, Karachi.
(2) Sis. Savitri Surji, Bombay.
(3) Sis. Sheila Motwane, Khar.

GIRLS 12 TO 16 YEARS.

SKIPPING RACE.

(1) Sis. Ratan Narayandas, Hyderabad.
(2) Sis. Parvati Vishram, Karachi.
(3) Sis. Savitri Kishinchand, Karachi.

OBSTACLE RACE.

(1) Sis. Parvati Sunderdas, Karachi.
(2) Sis. Savitri Surji, Bombay.
(3) Sis. Sheila Motwane, Khar.

BOYS 8 TO 10 YEARS

HAND-KERCHIEF RACE.

(1) Bro. Nishad Desai, Idar.
(2) Bro. Dunga, Bandra.
(3) Bro. Amritlal, Bombay.

50 YARDS RACE.

(1) Bro. Nishad Desai, Idar.
(2) Bro. Dunga, Bandra.
(3) Bro. Miwaro Tanora, Khar.

BOYS 10 TO 12 YEARS

POTATO RACE.

(1) Bro. Balu Ravji, Bombay.
(2) Bro K. C. Patel, Ahmedabad.
(3) Bro. Narsingh, Bandra.

100 YARDS RACE.

(1) Bro Narsingh, Bandra.
(2)) Bro. Mohanlal, Bombay.
(3) Bro. Ashav, Bombay.

THREE-LEGGED RACE.

(1) Bros. Amritlal and Narsingh, Bandra.
(2) Bros. Panna and Harnand, Bandra.

BOYS 12 TO 16 YEARS

(1) Bro. G. B. Upadhyaya, Khar.
(2) Bro. Pandya, Ghatkopar.
(3) Bro. Moti, Larkana (Sind).

220 YARDS RACE.

(1) Bro. Vishvanathdeo, Bangalore.
(2) Bro. Ramcharann, Hyderabad (Sind).
(3) Bro. G. B. Upadhyaya, Khar.

BACK LIFTING

(1) Bros. Vishvanath and Gandhi, Bangalore.
(2) Bros. Bharoocha and Patel, Bombay.

Exhibition.

1 Silk Embroidery:
Sis. Mandalini Setalwad, Khar.

After the Fight.

2. Leather Work:
Bro. Umrao, Khar.
3. Drawing:
Bro. Shivram P. Walke, Bandra.
4. Hand-Work:
The Bhatia Stree Mandal Keshavji Bal Mandir.
5. Bro. Dehosti Dwarkadas, Bombay.

Dramatics

For dramatic performances, Certificates of Merit were given to one and all who took part in the Variety Entertainments.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

I have pleasure to send greetings to the following sisters and brothers whose birthday comes during this week from 20th to 26th February 1938.

1. Bro. Kartar Singh.
2. Sis. Nalini Raj.
3. Bro. Nilrajan Das.
4. Bro. Pratap Dave.
5. Bro Manzoor A.I.Bux.
6. Bro James De Sa.
7. Sis. Rita Philips
8. Bro. Balram Mehta.
9. Bro. Sudhama Desai.
10. Bro. Gangadher Telang.
11. Sis. Sushila Talwankar.
12. Sis. Malini Khaskar.

FILL IN AND SEND IT NOW. DO NOT WAIT FOR YOUR BIRTHDAY MONTH.

Birthday Registration:
"BOMBAY CHRONICLE,"
Children's Own Corner.

NAME (Master or Miss)....

.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

.....

AGE LAST BIRTHDAY....

.....

DATE OF BIRTHDAY.....

.....

Fill in and send to:—
DADA—"Gulistan."
Khar—BOMBAY.

13. Bro. Muzafar Ali.
14. Bro. Gridhar Pathak.
15. Bro. Krishna Karani.
16. Sis. Usha Talaty.
17. Sis. Piroza Tata.
18. Sis. Malini Gokhale.
19. Bro. Baldev Bhatt.
20. Bro. Mulchand.
21. Sis. Sarswati Bhavnani.
22. Bro. P. S. Verma.
23. Bro. Gopal Pandya.

REMINISCENSES

(By Bro. K. Narayanam)

I remember the woods,
I played in very oft;
In my pleasant childhood,
Singing songs aloft.

Near thé rils I played,
Often with my brother,
But sometimes in the shade,
Of our garden bowei.

Dilruba Solo By P. H. Jariwala

I used to gather flowers,
Violet, rose and holly,
And spent my twilight hours,
On the hill slopes jolly.

In the days of autumn,
I used to climb up trees;
On the hill's green bottom,
Happy in the breeze.

After our hearty supper,
I traverse in the moon,
A mile with my brother,
And return very soon!

MODELS FOR THE CHILD

(By Viola E. Holley.)

Jerry was a little four-year-old boy, who played frequently with a friend who had not formed the habit of saying "please". Consequently, Jerry soon began demanding, "Give me a drink", or "I want an apple". His mother was puzzled for a while as to what to do about it.

Parents are often confronted with such problems. A little child is very quick to imitate the ways of those around him. He is

CHILDREN'S OWN CORNER

not very discriminating with regard to the kind of behaviour he copies—at least from his mother's point of view—and often picks up undesirable habits as well as good ones.

It may be the behaviour and speech of playmates that are objectionable. Frequently, individuals who come to the home to render service of one kind or another furnish the wrong example. Sometimes there are members of one's own family whose behaviour one does not wish a child to imitate, yet there often seems to be no way to prevent him from being stimulated to do so. What can a mother do under such circumstances?

Jerry's mother tried several things. First, she explained to the child what she would like him to say and why. She insisted, in a quiet, matter-of-fact way, that he ask correctly before she granted his request, but, although he seemed glad to respond when she reminded him, he forgot soon, and the habit persisted. Finally she tried telling him a story.

It was a true story that her husband had told her about a boy whom he had known in a large camp. This boy had the same bad habit that Jerry had of forgetting to say "please". He overcame it, though. The incidents that made up his experience, and his final success when he had no further trouble remembering, interested Jerry.

"I can remember too", was his comment when his mother finished the story, and the difficulty was soon overcome.

A suitable picture can often answer much the same purpose as a story and frequently may be found right at hand in a magazine or newspaper. Such an illustration, showing a little boy hanging up his clothes, caused one child to remark, "I can hang mine up, too, just like the little boy in the picture."

These stories and pictures gain the child's attention and, because he wishes to imitate the boy or girl that is presented in this attractive light, he is led to practice the right way until a new habit is formed. Even though his day by day experience furnishes objectionable patterns of behaviour, a mother can still balance things up for him by giving him interesting examples of the right way. This often helps more than reprovals, explanations, and reminders.

TRY THIS

(By Bro. Noshirwan.)

When you meet a chum try this trick. Say, "I can button up my coat quicker than you." At the word go, you both begin. You must start at the bottom button, but your chum will most probably button the top button first. He will hurry and get done first. Then you say, "Ha, ha! You didn't button your coat up, you buttoned it down. I've won!!"

* * *

HE WON

(By Sis. Rika.)

Two boys were arguing as to who could tell the tallest story.

"I once saw a boy swim the Indian Ocean in twelve hours", said one.

"Are you sure you saw him?" asked the other.

"Quite sure!" declared the first boy.

"Well, I'm him!" cried the other triumphantly.

SYSTEM IN THE KITCHEN

(By Trella Dick.)

The Warings were just getting up from the dinner table when Mrs. Elder arrived to talk over club matters.

"I'm afraid I have come at a busy hour", she apologised.

"Not at all", Mrs. Waring replied, "the girls do the dishes".

"That's nice", her visitor said. "If you'll let me have the 'phone book, I'll look up some addresses we need, while you get them started."

"O, they're self-starting", answered Mrs. Waring, with a smile, handing her visitor the book.

It needed only a glance through the open dining-room door, to corroborate her words. Mrs. Elder could see a girl in a neat apron, clearing the table in a very efficient manner.

"That is a refreshing sight", Mrs. Elder said, half sadly. "I left our table just as it was after we had finished dinner, and I shall find it as I left it."

"Are your girls away?" Mrs. Waring asked.

"No, they're at home", answered Mrs. Elder, hesitatingly. Then she continued in a discouraged tone, "They fuss so much about who is to do this and who is to do that, and then waste so much time before starting, that it is very annoying. If I don't keep at them, they don't do the work at all. It's much simpler to do it myself."

"It requires quite a bit of patience when girls first undertake responsibilities", agreed Mrs. Waring. "Before the work can become a habit with them, they must get things systematized, and when they've done that you'll find they've a real help".

"If I'm not worn out before that happy day arrives!" exclaimed Mrs. Elder. "My girls have been doing dishes now for two years".

Mrs. Waring looked surprised. "Two years?"

"Two years", her visitor reiterated, mournfully, "and I still have to set them at it, and keep them at it Then, about the time they get really started, it's so late they have to go to a meeting or entertain friends, and I have to finish the dishes".

"We had that problem at first", Mrs. Waring said. "I was quite discouraged for a while, until I sat down and thought it out. My part, of course, was to have dinner on time, so they could get their work done promptly. Then, I made it plain that doing the dishes was their task, and that it had to be done before they were free to entertain or consider their evening engagements. After being late a few times, they saw the foolishness of dilly-dallying. Now, whether or not they are going out or going to have company, they like to get the dishes done quickly".

"You certainly handled that well". Mrs. Elder spoke admiringly. Then she sighed again. "But that's not the only thing. They fuss over who shall wash the dishes, clear the table, take care of the scrapings, tidy the dining-room,—in fact, they find so many things to argue about, that it's almost more than I can stand".

"My girls have a working schedule", said Mrs. Waring, "but—and I think this is quite important—it is their schedule not mine. They plan their work themselves. Each one takes a week's turn at washing. Of course, attending to the scrapings, cleaning the sink, and leaving the kitchen in order, goes with the washing job. The girl who wipes the dishes, also clears the table, tidies the dining-room, and attends to the tea-towels. Each one knows what is expected of her, and does it. They have ceased to feel that doing dishes is mere drudgery, and a hardship to grumble about. They take pride in doing their work well, and best of all, they seem happy to help me".

"You've given me new hope", Mrs. Elder said feelingly. "Perhaps my girls could work out a pleasant, efficient schedule, too. I believe they might like to try".

REPLIES

Dada is always pleased to receive letters from his sisters and brothers. Write to him whatever you like and whenever you will: He will be glad to attend to your querries, and to try to solve your small difficulties to the best of his ability. If he could be of some service to you, just drop him a line and he will do his all to prove helpful.

Bro. C. K. Shah (Matunga): Your form and fee for joining the Balkan-ji-Bari have been duly received. The Certificate will be sent to you as early as possible.

Bro. H. P. Phatu (Karachi: I fear we cannot send Birthday Greetings to Associates. Complaints and enquiries about "PUSHPA—The Children's Own Paper" must be sent directly to the Manager, 31 Tribhovan Road, Bombay 4. A letter from an American friend has been sent to you as desired.

Bro. S. M. Banerji (Benares): Please read the above reply; much of it answers your letter. You should not change your address every now and then. Please refer to our Business Notices appearing on the 2nd page cover of "PUSHPA—The Children's Own Paper" always.

Sis. Mira Bai (Tardeo): Thank you for the small photo; I shall try to use it as early as possible. We shall be so glad to have you as one of our members.

Bro. A. Carvalho (Mazagaon): I was pleased to receive your letter and a "composition, which I have pleasure to inform, you, will appear in "PUSHPA—The Children's Own Paper", most probably in the March 1937 issue.

Bro. Pravin Shah (Bassein): Doesn't matter if you cannot come to Khar. If you join the Balkan-ji-Bari, you will be considered as one of the great brotherhood of the All-India Children's Association. Besides, you can

"BUT, WHAT—?"
(Master Nayampally)

take part in all Prize Competitions without any fees. There are no monthly or yearly subscriptions; the fees are to be paid once only for ever. But why don't you start a centre of children yourself at your place?

Sis. Lalita Desai (Ahmedabad): I may attend the Congress sessions at Haripura for one day only, that is on Sunday, the 20th instant. It will not at all be possible for you to see me there. When you come to Bombay, it shall be a pleasure to meet you!

Dear Dada,

Please send me full particulars and enrolment forms of the A.-I. Children's Association for the postage of which I enclose herewith nine pies stamps.

My age is.....years.

Name (Master or Miss) ....

.....

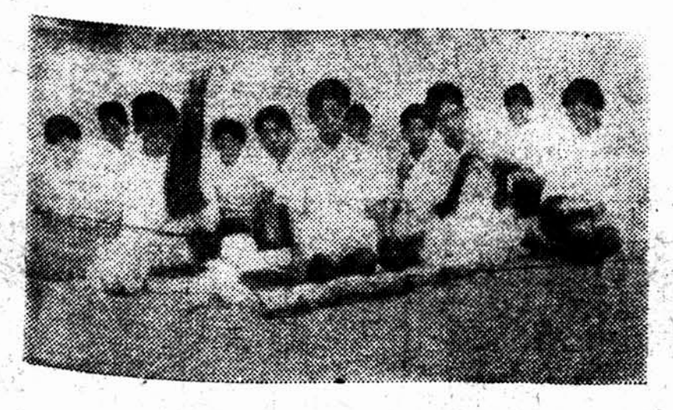
Full Address.....

.....

.....

Please write in block letters and post it to:

DADA—"Gulistan,"
Khar—BOMBAY.



The Ideal English School orchestra.

The Khar Children at Drill.

CHILDREN'S ASSOCIATION

Children under 12 years can join as members; boys and girls between 12 and 16 years, can become Companions; and elders wishing to be helpful, can also be enrolled either as Associates or as Patrons.

No distinction of caste, colour, creed or sex is observed for enrolment in Balkan-ji-Bari, the All-India Children's Association, and one has to pay a very nominal fee, which is to be given only once for ever.

If you like to have full particulars of the Association and the enrolment form, please send for them stating your age and full address and enclosing nine pies stamps only to cover the postage.

If you think we could be of any service to you, please let us know and we shall do our best to be helpful. We shall be glad also to receive matter from you for publication in this "Corner."

Kindly address all communications directly to:—

DADA—"Gulistan,"
Khar—BOMBAY.

All Good Wishes from
Your loving,
Dada

BOOKS AND THEIR AUTHORS

Our Neglected Children

The CHILD IN INDIA: Edited by Clifford Manshardt. Published by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 4/-.

This book which consists of ten papers written by different people social workers and educationists—on various aspects of child-life in India, has been published on the occasion of the completion of twenty-one years of useful service by the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India.

It contains an introduction by Lord Brabourne, ex-Governor of Bombay who says "Of all kinds of social service, there is none more important than the protection of children and none more worthy to be performed." The volume has been edited by Dr. C. Manshardt, Director of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, who has himself contributed two of the articles contained therein.

In the fitness of things the first article has been written by Mr. R. P. Masani who is one of the founders of the Society. He describes the state of affairs in regard to treatment and exploitation of children that were prevalent in Bombay prior to 1917 He cites cases of forsaken, maltreated and exploited children—forsaken even by parents who were themselves starving for not being able to learn by begging the minimum amount prescribed by them. exploited by their parasitic masters for begging and filling up belly cruelly disabled and disfigured to excite pity from the pblic and purposefully driven to lead a life of crime and shame regardless of their future for no better reason than the most selfish one of earning their own bread. The writer passionately pleads that there existed a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals but none existed for the prevention of cruelt. to children. Chilldren roaming about in the streets. were subject to disease, degradation and social injustice and were in utter need of some institutional care. In these circumstances. mainly through the efforts of Mr. Masani and one or two other gentlemen. the Society for the protection of Children in Western India was started on the 16th January 1917. In the last paragraph of this article under the caption 'Victims of Modern City life' the author depicts vividly heart-rending conditions of city life for the city's starving and submerged population and makes a stirring appeal to the favoured few of God's children not to shut their eyes to the utter misery of the destitute. defective and delinquent child population who are innocent victims of an unjust man-made social order and "to open the prison door and to allow them entrace into the realm of opportunity and hope."

The rest of the articles deal with the other aspects of children's life from parental care, education of the pre-school child. changing objectives in Indian schools, a balanced diet for children, training for character, recreation and play. Other articles deal with special problems such as behaviour problems of children, the dependent and delinquent child.

The subject matter of the book is important in itself and to add to its importance it has been dealt with by eminent and authoritative writers. The book is therefore an extremely useful publication to the lay public in general and to a student and a worker in social problems in particular.

India at present is going through critical times politically. The times are therefore bound to be critical in the matter of all national activitie such ts economic, educational, social and others. At such a juncture the book under review will go a long way in awakening our social leaders to the need of adopting various measures of amelioration, legal and otherwise in this most important field of social work. We talk of universal brotherhood and rights of citizenship, we protest against the exploitation of the weak by the strong, then how can we suffer even for a minute, the exploitation of our young by our own kith and kin? Surely it is because we do not know the extent of the problem. the gravity of the problem and the very reality of the problem. If we did, we would not have remained apathetic so long.

Considering the importance of the book, it deserves to be read by every person with some civic sense The price, however, which is Rs. 4, is rather too high to be within the means of the average reader.

Y. H.

Matriculation Georgraphy

Short Matriculation Georgraphy (Marathi) by Herbert Pickles (Oxford University Press) price Rs. 1/8

This is the Marathi edition of Herbert Pickles' geography for matriculations students. The book is based on the geography course meant for the matriculation students of the Bombay University and the arrangement of the subjects is made accordingly. It is a text book for students appearing for the matriculation examination who would find it useful.

CRESCENDO

(BY D. G. BELL.)

Music!

Be it of religious nature or spasmodically futurist; let its mood be in sea-storm symphony or riotous jazz; may it lead us to realms of impossible dreams, or delve us into Hell's wildest furies; be it expressed in Opera, Gavotte or Tarantelle; be it fancifully void or solidly vast; what imaginative thoughts are stirred; what depth is felt and joy discovered—in Music.

Music is of the Soul; the Mystery at the back of it is impossible to solve. Like all tender thrills which we call our Soul experiences, music remains a mystery, superb in its effect.

Give me an hour alone with Beethoven for an hundred of your crowded hours of other pleasures; give me just one night with the soft-toned chords of the pianoforte and the accompanying firelight shadows for a score of your nights spent in knee-cramped seats of the cinema; give me one bar of Chopin, one bar of Handel, or even one bar of Coates, for a whole city's bars which offer such divertive 'Tastes'. Give me MUSIC!

There are other forms of Music; I would lead you to the Music of the breezes playing through the deep-scented Pines, and the Music of babbling brooks; the Music of city's traffic and the Music of gabbling crowds; or the Music of rain-swept streets or of chorus girls' tapping toes; or the Music of the gigantic machinations of the press, or the gentle repercussions of the typewriter.

All of which, each in itself, is a mystery. . . .

Our Humorist At Large

Rejected Suitor: "I'll make your daughter pay for this, if ever I marry her."

"Does your wife aim high?"
"No—she's got wise to my ducking now."

Master: "This composition on the dog is word for word the same as the boy's next to you."
Scholar: "It's about the same dog."

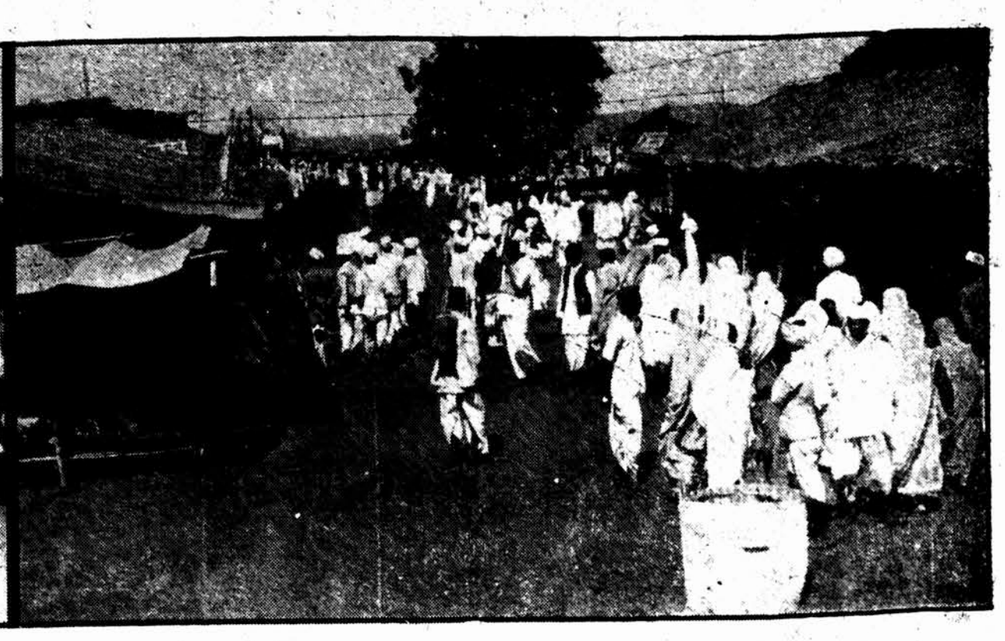
Newly Wed: "Have you some chops that are not so inflammable? I always set fire to the ones you give me."

Telephone Girl (ex-sales girl): "Sorry, sir, that Mayfair number is engaged—but we have a fine assortment of City numbers not being used."

"My boy friend was all smiles when he saw me last night."
"Well, so long as he didn't laugh outright, darling."

SCENES FROM HARIPURA

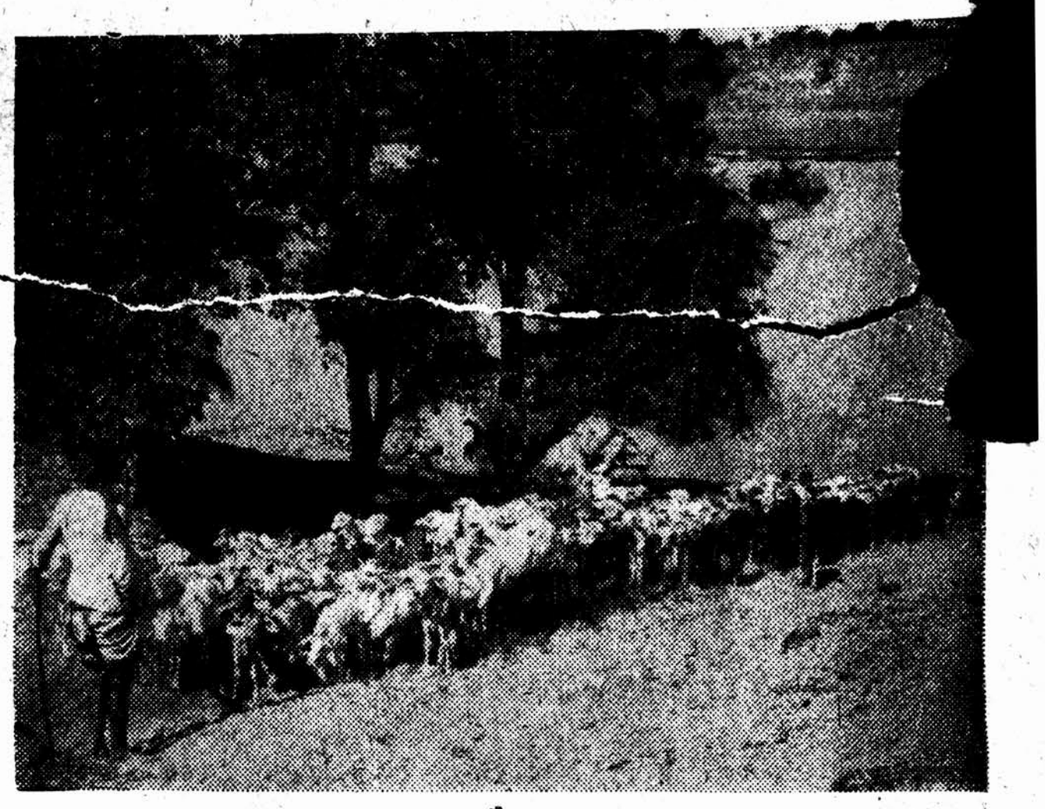
Villagers on a visit to the Exhibition.



Male Volunteers on the march.

Kisans camping at Haripura.

Lady Volunteers on the march.



Calves return to Goshala after quenching thirst.

Mahatma Gandhi arrives at Vithalnagar to perform opening ceremony of Swadeshi Exhibition; on his left are Rajkumari Amrit Kuar, Miss Mirabei and Mr. Shankarlal Banker.

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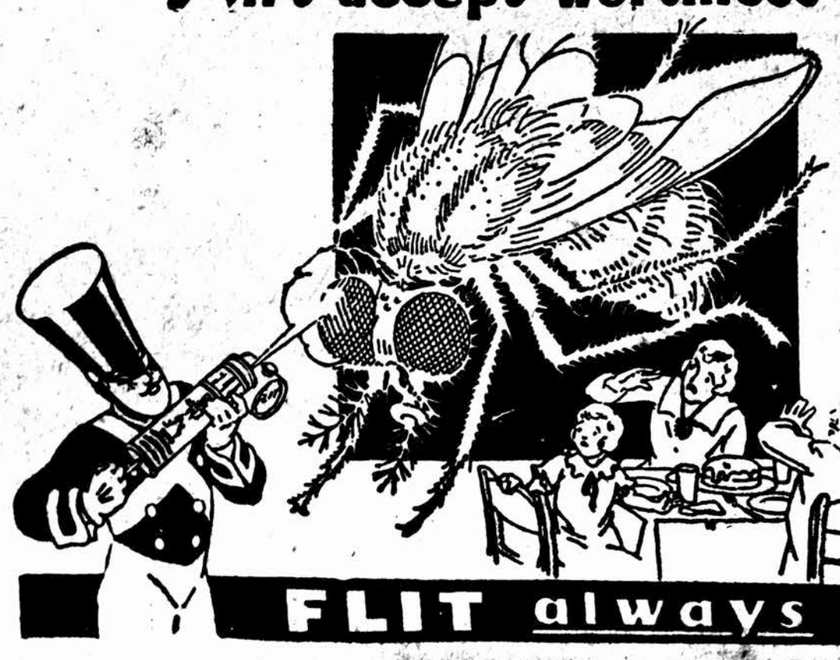

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